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"UNCLE TOM'S CABIN" IN GERMANY

BY

GRACE EDITH MACLEAN.

INAUGURAL DISSERTATION ZUR ERLANGUNG DER DOCTORWÜRDE
DER HOHEN PHILOSOPHISCHEN FACULTÄT DER
UNIVERSITÄT HEIDELBERG

AMERICANA GERMANICA
VOLUME X

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TO
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BY

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PREFACE.

Among the many ways in which America has influenced the culture of Germany, that of the subject of slavery is shown in the multitude of translations, adaptations and imitations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

From the earliest days of the Colonies the Germans in America were strongly opposed to slavery, as were the Quakers. This question was a most important one and was discussed by Pastorius in his "Protest against Negro Slavery", brought by the Germans before the Friends' Meeting in 1688, and among those who fought in the War for Independence there were also Germans who felt the growing earnestness of the slavery question as Philipp Waldeck shows in his "Tagebuch", 1776-1783. The revolutionists of '48 were heart and soul for freedom, and the many who came to America at that time and later participated in the Civil War were led to do so largely by the strong abolition feeling which prevailed.

The influence spread to the homeland, as is proved by letters, newspaper reports and discussions, but most of all by Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* This was circulated in translation in every town and city of Germany, adapted and presented on the stage, and imitated by well-known and obscure writers and translators, many of whom endeavored to share in the fame and others in the pecuniary benefits of the great wave of excitement which swept around the world. A study of the influence of *Uncle Tom* reveals the interest in American social life, indignation at the evils of slavery, and close sympathy between Germany and America.

This work was begun with the encouragement of Professor M. D. Learned of the University of Pennsylvania, and was completed during three years of research work in Germany under Professor J. Hoops, of the University of Heidelberg, the inspiration and always kindly advice and help of both of whom I hereby most gratefully acknowledge.

G. E. MacLean.

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I. Introduction.

"It is probable that no novel ever written has had such an immense popularity or has ever exerted so great an influence on human affairs as *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* In its power of simple pathos, in its passionate humanitarianism, in its instinctive art, it is unique. It has the rare kind of greatness which belongs to a large and simple design faithfully executed. If it has ceased to be read, it is because the cause it pleaded is won—the highest possible tribute to its influence."[1]

Such is the criticism of a fair-minded critic of the novel.

Europe was a sympathizer with the New World to which it was closely bound by emigration, but before the War for the Union in the United States, little thought was directed to the dark problem of slavery which was growing daily more serious, until Mrs. Stowe so graphically pictured the conditions of society. Then, immediately, an interest was aroused—critical and anxious, because the principle of right and wrong was involved.

It is, indeed, a unique experience for an author to find herself so suddenly famous—"die Löwin des Tages",[2] as she was called. "*Onkel Tom's Hütte,* von Beecher-Stowe brachte die ganze Welt in fieberhafte Aufregung."[3]

How far did this interest extend? Was it only fostered by revolutionists or by a public sympathetic with the oppressed and down-trodden, and did this interest manifest itself as an influence?

These questions, it is our purpose to answer, as well as may be, in regard to Germany. The subject may be divided into the following parts:

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[1] W. J. Dawson, "*The Makers of English Fiction,*" Lon. 1905, p. 265-6.

[2] *Ausland,* 1854, II, No. 34, p. 803, Aug. 25.

[3] *Badische Landeszeitung,* 1854, No. 251, Oct. 27.

I. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Translation.
II. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Reviews.
III. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* on the Stage.
IV. Imitations and Influence on the Novel.
V. Influence in general upon the People.

1. *Biography.*

Before entering upon the discussion of the questions above suggested, it will be necessary to sketch the life and works of Mrs. Stowe.

Harriet Elizabeth Beecher-Stowe[4] (1811-1896), the third daughter of the Rev. Lyman Beecher and Roxanna Foote-Beecher, was born June 14, 1811, at Litchfield, Connecticut. Her father was the Congregational minister of the town, and the community in which she spent her childhood was one of the most intellectual in New England. Mrs. Beecher died when Harriet was four years of age, but the memory of her strong sympathetic nature remained with her children throughout their lives. Mrs. Stowe writes:

"Although my mother's bodily presence disappeared from our circle, I think that her memory and example had more influence in moulding her family than the living presence of many mothers. The passage in *Uncle Tom,* where Augustine St. Clair describes his mother's influence, is a simple reproduction of my own mother's influence as it has always been felt in her family."

After her mother's death, Mrs. Stowe was placed in the care of her grandmother and aunt in Guilford, Conn., and here began her first steps in education. She listened with untiring interest to the ballads of Sir Walter Scott, and of Robert Burns, and searched eagerly for something as interesting among the sermons and pamphlets of the garret. Finally she discovered an old copy of *Arabian Nights,* which was to her "a dream of delight—an enchanted palace, through which her imagination ran wild", and this book and

[4] C. E. Stowe, *Biography of Mrs. Stowe,* Boston & N. Y., 1889.

Cotton Mather's *Magnalia* were the greatest treasures of her childhood.

After the marriage of her father to Harriet Porter, of Portland, Maine, her schooldays began at the Litchfield Academy, under the charge of Sarah Price and John Brace. The character and methods of instruction of her teachers here always remained pleasant memories with Mrs. Stowe:

"Mr. Brace exceeded all the teachers that I ever knew in the faculty of teaching composition," she writes. "Much of the inspiration and training of my early days consisted not in the things I was supposed to be studying, but in hearing, while seated unnoticed at my desk, the conversation of Mr. Brace with the older classes."

The influences of her home at this time were likewise stimulating. Dr. Beecher was a strong, sound man in body and mind, and his religious influence was ever healthy and cheerful. His system of theology was broad and comprehensive—that of a Calvinist. His children grew up in an atmosphere of intellectual and moral enthusiasm, and Mrs. Stowe, at the age of twelve years, was a bright, thoughtful child, who listened with attention to the sermons of her father, delivered in the village church. Dr. Beecher was a friend of the poor and needy, and his sermons and prayers at the time of the Missouri agitation drew tears from the eyes of the hard old farmers who listened; as, earnestly and passionately longing to help the cause of the slave, he appealed for "poor, oppressed, bleeding Africa, that the time of her deliverance might come."

Thus it was natural that from her childhood Mrs. Stowe should become an enemy of slavery. In 1824, she went to Hartford, Conn., to attend the school that had been established there by her elder sister, Catharine, and the strong character of the latter stamped itself upon the sensitive and imaginative nature of her younger sister. Here she remained as pupil and teacher until 1832, when Dr. Beecher accepted a call to become president of the newly founded Lane Theological Seminary, and removed with his family to

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Cincinnati. Catharine Beecher also accompanied them, eager to establish a school, with Harriet as an assistant, which should be one of the pioneer schools for women in the West. Here Harriet took an active part in the school life, compiled an Elementary Geography, wrote lectures for the classes; and, as a member of the Semi-Colon Club, a social and literary circle, at the meetings of which the questions of the day were discussed, she contributed humorous sketches and poems. Her first literary work was written for the *Western Monthly,* and afterwards was republished in *The Mayflower.*

January 6, 1836, she was married to Rev. Calvin Ellis Stowe, one of the professors in the seminary, a man of wide interests, especially in education. It was largely his encouragement that led her to continue in literary work.

During her residence of eighteen years in Cincinnati, Mrs. Stowe had frequently visited the slave States, first in 1833 in a trip to Kentucky, where she was a guest at an estate afterwards portrayed as Colonel Shelby's in *Uncle Tom,* and acquired the minute knowledge of Southern life, which is so conspicuously displayed in her works. The problem of human slavery was constantly thrust upon her attention, for a river only separated Ohio from a slave-holding community. Slaves were continually escaping from their masters, and were sheltered by the circle in which she lived and assisted on their journey to Canada. During the riots in which James G. Birney's press was destroyed, in 1836, only the distance from the city and the depths of mud saved the Lane Seminary from a like fate, for it was strong in Abolitionists, and the excitement was intense. Mrs. Stowe watched the course of events with keenest interest, and in the great debate, which was political, economical and moral, she took an active part.

In June, 1836, Professor Stowe sailed for London to buy books for the seminary, and at home his wife continued to write occasionally for the *Western Monthly* and for the *New York Evangelist.*

The ten years, 1840 to 1850, tell a story of poverty, famine and cholera in Cincinnati; but through it all, Mrs. Stowe kept up her correspondence with Eastern friends, and in 1842 visited Hartford, Conn., to regain her health. It is then that her husband writes to her:

"My dear, you must be a literary woman. It is so written in the Book of Fate. Make all your calculations accordingly. Get a good stock of *health,* and brush up your mind. Drop the *E* out of your name, it only encumbers it and interferes with the flow of euphony. Write yourself, fully and always: *Harriet Beecher-Stowe*—which is a name euphonious, flowing, and full of meaning. Then, my word for it, your husband will lift up his head in the gate, and your children will rise up and call you blessed."

In the summer of 1849, during the absence of Professor Stowe, the epidemic of cholera in Cincinnati brought sorrow to the family in the death of the youngest child; but in September of the same year Professor Stowe was elected to a professorship in Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, and removed with his family thither. It was in the midst of the excitement caused by the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law that Mrs. Stowe arrived in Boston from the West, and she was prepared for the great work which came to her, little by little, as a message which she must deliver; and when she went on to Brunswick, she was kept informed of events in Boston by her friends, among whom were those who were blind and deaf to all arguments against the law which, as Mrs. Stowe thought, all benevolent and tender-hearted Christians should believe unjust.

Mrs. Edward Beecher, in a letter to Mrs. Stowe, said after describing the enforcement of the law in Boston: "Now, Hattie, if I could use a pen as you can, I would write something that would make this whole nation feel what an accursed thing slavery is."

Mrs. Stowe read this letter aloud to her family, and when she came to the passage quoted, she rose from her

chair and exclaimed, "I will write something. I will, if I live."

And in the quiet of a country town, far away from the actual contact with painful scenes, but on the edge of the whirlwind raised by the Fugitive Slave Bill, memory and imagination had full scope, and she wrote for the *National Era*, an anti-slavery weekly paper of Washington. D. C., *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly.* The story appeared as a serial from June 5, 1851, to April 1, 1852. It was begun as a magazine tale, but the interest excited by the story, and the encouragement which the author received, compelled her to continue until it had become a volume which has a place among the notable books of the world. In the meantime Professor Stowe was appointed Professor of Biblical Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover, Mass., and with his family removed to that place about the time *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was published.

At first Mrs. Stowe was despondent as to the result of her literary effort; she says:

"It seemed to me that there was no hope; that nobody would hear; that nobody would read, nobody would pity; that this frightful system, which pursued its victims into the free States, might at least threaten them even in Canada." But the publication of the story in book form March 20, 1852, by J. P. Jewett & Co., Boston, was a factor which must be reckoned as one of the moving causes of the War for the Union.

In the spring of 1853, Mrs. Stowe's health made a complete rest and change of scene necessary, and she sailed for England, accompanied by Professor Stowe and her brother, Rev. Charles Beecher, by invitation of the Anti-slavery Society of Glasgow. This journey enabled her to meet the leading writers of the day, and everywhere she was received most cordially and much money was collected to aid the anti-slavery cause. The experiences of this trip were published the following year in the form of a collection of letters of

Mrs. Stowe and her brother during their travels under the title of *Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands.*[5] Three years later, another visit was made to England and the Continent, one of the purposes of which was to arrange for an English edition of *Dred, a Tale of the Dismal Swamp,* which had appeared in the spring of 1856. The same book was reissued in 1866 under the title of *Nina Gordon,* but has been again published under the original title. During the trip through Germany (1856) Mrs. Stowe visited Heidelberg, leaving August 1, for Frankfurt a/M., where the party made their headquarters at Hotel Russie, and from there went to Mainz and down the Rhine, visiting Bingen, Coblenz, Bonn, Drachenfels. They also visited the famous galleries in Düsseldorf, and in Leipzig were entertained by Tauchnitz, the publisher. After spending a few days in Wittenberg and Berlin, they returned to Paris, via Antwerp, August 20.

In December, 1858, the first chapter of the *Minister's Wooing* appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly,* and about the same time the *Pearl of Orr's Island* was published as a serial in the *Independent.* A third trip to Europe was made in 1859 to aid the anti-slavery cause.

The outbreak of the Civil War found Mrs. Stowe in Andover, Mass., working earnestly for freedom both in America and through her influence in Europe. In 1864 Professor Stowe resigned his professorship at Andover, and they made their home in Hartford, Conn., spending the winters in Mandarin, Florida, as long as the health of Professor Stowe allowed him to travel. Mrs. Stowe passed many happy winters in her Southern home until the death of her husband in 1886, after which she spent the rest of her life in Hartford, near the homes of "Mark Twain", Charles D. Warner, and others, who formed the select literary "coterie" of Asylum Hill. She died July 1, 1896, and was buried in Andover beside her husband.

[5] 2 vols. Boston, 1854.

2. *The Importance of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in the Anti-slavery Movement.*

In *Uncle Tom's Cabin* Mrs. Stowe draws a picture of slaveholding in the Southern States as she had witnessed it, putting in a concrete form the actual horrors of slavery. The plot is somewhat rambling, but her characters have a vitality which makes them real. Her description, a background which she had known from personal experience, arouses the sentiment of the reader through its faithfulness to nature, so that he accepts it as true. The arguments for and against the system are introduced intelligently, and her reasoning is logical and convincing, so that even the Southern reader could not but recognize the evils of the institution which he so strongly upheld. Until the appearance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* slavery had been considered by the North as a deplorable abstraction, but wherever the book went it awakened this abstraction to life.

"It was not written for a political purpose, but for moral suasion",[6] to show that each revolving year in the life of the nation brought nearer the inevitable crisis in which the Elder America would perish and the New America arise.

The state of political feeling which prevailed at this time can hardly be appreciated by the present generation; the sensibilities of the modern readers are blunted to the evil which nearly caused the downfall of the Union. Negro slavery had died out in the Northern States during the first quarter of the 19th century; but the condition of industry in the South had stimulated the institution there, until it had assumed social and economic importance. The Quakers had always opposed slavery, as had the majority of the Germans in America, and the anti-slavery movement went slowly on with men like Garrison, Sumner and Parker, sacrificing their social career to the principles in which they

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[6] C. E. Stowe, *Biog. Mrs. Stowe.*

believed; but when Mrs. Stowe's book was produced, the movement became popular.

The sentiment of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* endures and will always be as true as when it first stirred the hearts of the many thousands of readers; for it expresses slave-life itself, not a comparison,—a new field into which no novelist had penetrated—and the vigor of treatment, depth of pathos and independence of style have insured to the author lasting admiration.

When the story appeared in book form, three thousand copies were sold the first day—a second edition was issued the following week, and within a year one hundred and twenty editions had been issued in the United States. Sampson Low, who afterwards became Mrs. Stowe's English publisher, thus records its success in England:[7]

"From April to December, 1852, twelve different editions (not reissues), at one shilling, were published; and within the twelve months of its first appearance no less than eighteen different houses in London were engaged in supplying the demand that had set in. The total number of editions was forty, varying from the fine illustrated edition of 15*s.* to the cheap and popular one at 6*d.* After carefully analyzing these editions and weighing probabilities with ascertained facts, I am able pretty confidently to say that the aggregate number circulated in Great Britain and her colonies exceeded one million and a half."

"It was read everywhere, by all classes of people; talk of it filled the atmosphere. Heated discussions, occasioned by it, resounded in cottage, farmhouse, business offices and palatial residences all over the land. The pity, distress and soul-felt indignation in which it had been written, were by it transferred to the minds and consciences of its readers, and the antagonism it everywhere engendered, threw the social life of this country and England into angry effervescence through all its strata.

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[7] *Old South Leaflets* No. 82: "The Story of U. T. C.," p. 16.

"Echoes of its clarion tones came back to Mrs. Stowe in her quiet home in Brunswick, returning as they had struck the world, with clashing dissonance or low, sweet tones of human feeling.

"Letters, letters of all sizes, colors, directions and kinds of chirography astonished the postmaster at Brunswick by their countless numbers, and the author began to feel the nation's pulse.

"Friends applauded, remonstrated, or vociferously deprecated her course. Literary associates praised the technique of the story, but thought the subject ill-chosen. Abolitionists wrote with irrepressible enthusiasm. Politicians angrily expressed their amazement that her husband should permit her to stir up the people. Slaveholders heaped reproaches upon her and badly spelled productions, which were taken with tongs by her husband and dropped almost unread into the fire."[8]

William Lloyd Garrison writes to Mrs. Stowe:

"Since *Uncle Tom's Cabin* has been published, all the defenders of slavery have let me alone, and are spending their strength in abusing you." And Charles Dickens says:

" Your book is worthy of any head and any heart that ever inspired a book."

Charles Kingsley gives as his opinion:

"Your book will do more to take away the reproach from your great and growing nation than many platform agitations and speechifyings."

One cause of the indisputed popularity of the book was its foundation upon truth. The Southerner called for facts —proof, claimed that the book made ignorant and malicious misrepresentations; and to refute this, Mrs. Stowe published in 1853 the *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin,* "presenting original facts and documents upon which the story

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[8] Florine Thayer McCray, "*The Life Work of the Author of 'U. T. C.,'* " N. Y., 1889, p. 105ff.

is founded, together with corroborative statements verifying the truth of the work."

The *Key* was sought for almost as much as *Uncle Tom,* especially at the South, where the sales were remarkable—ninety thousand copies were published in the United States in one month.

Mrs. Stowe also arranged the story for youthful readers under the title, *A Peep into Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1853), and in 1855 wrote an adaptation for the stage, entitled *The Christian Slave.*

Nor was the influence of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* confined to the United States. It crossed the seas, and within a year was scattered all over the world. It was translated and circulated in unprecedented numbers in every city, country and court of Europe; and wherever it was read, it excited like abhorrence of the system it so vividly portrayed, kind sympathy with every effort for abolition, and aroused hearty good-will and earnest wishes for the new party of freedom.

The number of translations has been variously estimated from twenty to forty languages and dialects. We find translations into at least *twenty-one* different languages, as follows: *Arabic; Armenian; Bohemian; Danish,* two distinct versions; *Dutch,* three distinct versions and one for children—14 separate editions; *Finnish; Flemish; French,*[9] eleven distinct versions, two abridgements for children, and two dramatic adaptations; *Hungarian,* one complete version, one for children, and one versified abridgement; *Illyrian,* two; *Italian,* twelve versions and one for children (two editions of the *Key*)—14 editions; *Portuguese; Polish; Romaic* or modern Greek; *Russian,* two; *Spanish,* six (Spain, five; Mexico, one); *Servian; Swedish,* five for children, six distinct versions—at least sixteen editions; *Wallachian,* two; *Welsh.* three; *Wendish;* and in *German* at least seventy-five separate editions.

[9] Bullen, 9 versions. Lorenz Cat. 23 editions.

II. German Translations.

"Wir leben sehr rasch und vergessen mit einer wunderbaren Schnelligkeit; nur wenig Menschen erinnern sich noch an die gräuliche Periode von 1852-9," says Julian Schmidt.[10] But the time has come when the German people think with pride and gratitude of the men, who in 1848 strove for unity and democracy. One of the great problems of the nineteenth century has been that of freedom and truth and their attainment. In the German Empire the period 1830-48 marks the birth of a modern political life. Progress was rapid, as the air grew full of such watchwords as emancipation, humanity, public opinion, and the spectre of social revolution appeared on the horizon.

"Battle and storm advanced steadily and the liberal movement merged into an all-absorbing issue—on the one side monarchy, on the other the people; on the one coercion, on the other freedom; on the one privilege, on the other law; on the one provincialism, and on the other nationalism."[11] But the end was discouragement, failure—not failure from the broad standpoint of social progress, for a period of reaction, stagnation and despair followed, which was only gradually overcome by the hopefulness of the younger generation. The influence of Schopenhauer, the father of pessimism, was heavy upon the minds of the people, and with eagerness and curiosity the book-hungry public sought any disclosure of the shame of social conditions. The newspapers, journals and books of the day were full of merciless criticism and discontent.

It was this soured and despairing public that received *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852, and read it with sympathy and enthusiasm, for it reflected the state of mind and conditions of society existent among the readers themselves. What

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[10] Julian Schmidt, "*Geschichte der deutschen Literatur v. Leibniz bis auf unsere Zeit,*" Vol. I, p. 587-8, Berl., 1896.

[11] Kuno Francke, "*Social Forces in German Literature,*" N. Y., 1899.

would have been the result, if the book had reached Germany eight or ten years earlier? Who can estimate the flame of feeling that it would have produced? Yet we may believe, from the wide influence which we shall prove, that it helped to keep alive and deepen the desire for freedom and reform, until in the progress of social development, the hope was fulfilled. That the book was generally read in Germany is proved by the comments of the newspapers and literary journals, by the number of translations, and by the statements of the many people with whom we have conversed on the subject, especially of those whose relatives were in America.

Mrs. Stowe was everywhere known as "die berühmte Verfasserin von *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* or "die Humanistin", and her book was called the *Evangelium der Negersklaven.*[12]

The number of translations and editions is remarkable. We have found at least 75 separate editions in the German language; 41 distinct versions, to 16 of which the names of the translators are given; 11 abridgements for children; one dramatic adaptation, and one volume of illustrations. Besides these there are three editions in English, one of which is for school use, and one edition in French, also for schools, published in Germany.

The description of the translator and his work in Hackländer's *Europäisches Sklavenleben* is a fair picture of the demand for the book. The publisher cannot wait for the chapters to be translated, and the old man is obliged to work far into the night to satisfy his employer and to earn the pittance which supports his family. The publisher does not allow him the credit of having translated the story, and it appears only under the firm name. As this was frequently the case in publishing houses, we may infer that many of the translations of *Uncle Tom,* to which the name is lacking, are not simply copies of other translations, but the original work of some obscure translators.

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[12] Cf. *Preussische Zeitung,* 1853, No. 24, Jan. 29.

Among the translators we meet some well-known names, as Adolf Strodtmann, poet and critic; Dr. Max Schasler, critic and "aesthetiker"; W. E. Drugulin, bookseller and publisher. Others are not so well-known, as Carl von der Boeck and Marie von Felseneck, juvenile writers, and Margarethe Jacobi, translator; and of many we have only the names.

The translations are in general well done, and though in most cases no attempt is made to reproduce the negro dialect, the sequence of the story is kept throughout. The illustrations which are introduced are original in some of the editions, and in others are copied from those of the English or American editions. The abridgements for children, like that of Mrs. Stowe and those published in England, recount only those parts of the story which would appeal to a child, in a simple manner intended for entertainment and instruction.

The list of translations is as follows:

(1) 1852. *Onkel Tom,* oder Negerleben in den Nordamerikanischen Sklavenstaaten, v. H. B. Stowe, nach der 10ten Amerik. Aufl., übersetzt v. *W. E. Drugulin. Amerikanische Bibliothek,* Bd. 9-12, 4 Bde., 8° (194; 196; 206; 215ˢ). Leipzig, Kollmann.

Wilhelm Edward Drugulin (1822-1879), Buch- u. Kunsthändler in Leipzic.[13] He also translated Hildreth's *White Slave.*

(2) 1852. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* übersetzt von *F. C. Nordstern,* 8°, 6 Hfte. 1. u. 2. Abdr. 1852-1853. Wien, Wenedikt.

Nordstern also translated *The White Slave.*

(3) 1852. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* oder Negerleben in den Sklavenstaaten des freien Nordamerikas; von H. B. Stowe, nach der 10ten engl. original Ausg. freibearbeitet v. *Dr. Ungewitter.* 240ˢ. Leipzig, Hartleben.

[13] Brockhaus, *Conv. Lexikon.*

Onkel Tom's Hütte, etc., in deutscher Auffassungsweise für deutsche Leser bearb. v. *Ungewitter;* 3. Ausg., 8° m. 6. Illustr. (Holzschn.), 240ˢ. 1853, Leipzig, Wien (gedr.); Hartleben's Verlags-Expedition.

Hartleben advertises this edition in the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* Augsburg (Beil. 331, 26 Nov. 1852) as follows: "Die zweite Auflage von, *Onkel Tom's Hütte* u. s. w. von *Ungewitter* übersetzt. Die Verlagshandlung ging von der Ansicht aus dass dieses wahrhaft epochemachende Werk sich in Deutschland nur dann eines so glänzenden Erfolges wie in Amerika und England erfreuen könne, wenn es in einer dem deutschen Sinne und dem deutschen Geschmacke anpassenden Form; das heisst, ohne Schmälerung seines wahrhaft genialen wesentlichen Inhalts, jedoch mit Beseitigung aller—blos für das englische dem Schauplatze der Begebenheiten nahestehende Publikum berechneten—Weitschweifigkeiten—dargeboten wird; ebenso sehr war die Verlagshandlung überzeugt dass eine so schwierige die genaueste Vertrautheit mit den Verhältnissen erfordernde Aufgabe nur von einem Manne der längere Zeit in Amerika gelebt, glücklich gelöst werden könne. Die Folge hat diese Ansicht glänzend gerechtfertigt; der rasche Absatz der sehr starken ersten Auflage dieser Bearbeitung binnen kaum mehr als 14 Tagen spricht wohl am unzweideutigsten für deren allgemeine Verständlichkeit und Popularität."

(4) 1852. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* aus dem Engl. *Allgemeine deutsche Volksbibliothek.* Verlagshandlung des allgemeinen deutschen Volksschriftenvereins; Bd. 4-6; Jahrg. 5; 3 Bde. 8° (219; 228; 203ˢ). Berlin, Dessau.

(5) 1852. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* oder Sklavenleben in der Republik Amerika; gr. 8°, 357ˢ. Berlin, Janke.

(6) 1852. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* oder Negerleben in den Sklavenstaaten Amerikas, aus dem Engl. 3 Aufl. 2 Thle. gr. 8°, 524ˢ, mit 6 Holzschn. Berlin, Albert Sacco.

(7) 1852. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* 3 Bde. 650ˢ. Berlin, Springer's Verlag.

(8) 1852. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* oder Negerleben in den Sklavenstaaten von Nordamerika mit 50 Illustr. (Holzschn.) 1 Aufl. 558ˢ (m. eingedruckten Holzschn., u. 15 Holzschn. Taf.), gr. 8°, 1852. 2 Aufl. u. 3 Aufl., gr. 8°, 1853. 4 Aufl. mit Anmerkungen. Vermehrte Aufl., 1854. (XII und 420ˢ) 8°. Leipzig, Weber.

(9) 1852 *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* oder Negerleben in den Sklavenstaaten von Nordam. mit 40 Illus. Karlsruhe, Herder'sch. Buchh.

(10) 1852. *Sklaverei in dem Lande der Freiheit,* oder das Leben der Neger in den Sklavenstaaten Nordamerikas; Nach der 15 Aufl. v. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* mit einem Vorworte. 4 Bde. 8°. (XVI 866ˢ); dass. 4 Bde. 16°, 508ˢ, 1852; dass. 3 Aufl., 1853. Leipzig, D. Wigand.

(11) 1852. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* oder die Geschichte eines christlichen Sklaven v. H. B. Stowe. 11 Bdchn. 16°, 1852-3.

Bde. 1871-1881, *das belletristisches Ausland,* hg. Karl Spindler. Kabinetsbibliothek der class. Romane aller Nationen. Stuttgart, Frankh.

(12) 1852. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* Bde. 7-8, *Neuer Haus- u. Familien-Schatz;* Erzählungsbibliothek für jedermann. 2 Bde. 650ˢ. Wittenberg, Mohr.

(13) 1852. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* Mannheimer Unterhaltungsblatt, Belletristische Beilage zum Mannheimer Journal. 1852, Jahrg., 5, II, No. 246, 15 Okt. bis No. 303, 21 Dec.

(14) 1853. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* oder die Geschichte eines christlichen Sklaven, aus dem Engl. übertragen v. *L. Du Bois,* 3 Thle. (176; 183; 312ˢ). Stuttgart, Frankh.

The publisher of this edition advertises in the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* Augsburg (Ausserord. Beil. No. 351, 16 Dec., 1852), as follows:

"'*Onkel Tom's Hütte,*' u. s. w., aus dem Englischen übertragen von *L. Du Bois*—preis 6 Kreuzer.

"Diese Übersetzung welche in obiger Ausgabe dem Publikum übergeben wird, ist unter allen bisher erschienenen, die geistvollste und beste, weil sie aus der Feder eines Mannes stammt, der aufs innigste vertraut mit dem englischen und amerikanischen Volks- und Gesellschaftsleben aller Stände, den Beruf hatte die zahlreichen Übersetzungs-Schwierigkeiten dieses bedeutenden Buches namentlich in seinen Volks- und Neger-Dialogen, welche ein grosser Teil der übrigen Übersetzer nach gewissermassen, nicht einmal richtig verstand, mit Leichtigkeit zu überwinden und das reiche Gemälde lebensvoller Charakteristiken und spannender Situationen aufs treueste wiederzugeben."

(15) 1853. *Oheim Tom's Hütte,* oder das Leben bei den Niedrigen übersetzt von *H. R. Hutten,* 8°. Boston (Cambridge), U. S. A.

(16) 1853. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* oder Schilderungen aus dem Leben in den Sklavenstaaten Nordamerikas, nach der 35ten eng. Aufl. v. *J. S. Löwe.* 2 Bde. 8°. (XI u. 264; 224ˢ.) Hamburg, Leipzig, Kittler.

(17) 1853. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* oder Negerleben in den Sklavenstaaten Amerikas, aus dem Engl. mit 6 Holzschn. 3 Bde. (210; 189; 160ˢ). Berlin, Brandis (Falkenberg & Co.)

(18) 1853. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* oder Negerleben in den Sklavenstaaten Amerikas, aus dem Engl. 3 Bde. 8°, mit 4 Holzschn. (210; 189; 160ˢ). Berlin (Davids Buchh.) (Wesselmann & Co.)

(19) 1853. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* oder Leiden der Negersklaven in Amerika von Mrs. Stowe. Im Auszuge für das deutsche Volk bearbeitet. 55ˢ m. 1 Titelbild (Holzschn.), 16°. Berlin, Lassar.

(20) 1853. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* oder Sklavenleben in den Freistaaten Amerikas, aus dem Engl. 3 Thle. 1 u. 2 Aufl., 8° (644ˢ). Berlin, Schnitzer.

(21) 1853. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* oder Negerleben in den Sklavenstaaten von Amerika mit der Biogr. der Verfasserin und einer Vorrede v. E. Burritt. Vollständige u. wohlfeilste Steriotypausg. nebst Portrait. 2 Bde. gr. 8° (XVI 448ˢ). Leipzig, Friedlein.

(22) 1853. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* oder Negerleben in den Sklavenstaaten von Amerika v. H. Stowe, geb. Beecher, nach 20 amerik. Ausg. aus dem Engl. nebst der neuen von der Verfasserin eigene für Europa geschriebenen Vorrede. Vollständige u. s w. 1-10 Aufl. m. 16 Holzschn. (XVI 326ˢ.)

[1-8 Aufl. 10 ngr.; 9 u. 10 Aufl. 15 ngr.] Leipzig, Friedlein.

(23) 1853. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* oder Sklaverei im Lande der Freiheit. 3 Aufl. mit einer original Vorrede der Frau Verfasserin, und mit einer Einleitung über die Sklaverei. 16°, 4 Bde. (XX 508ˢ). Leipzig, D. Wigand. This may be the same as No. 9 with new title.

(24) 1853. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* nach dem Engl. für die reifere Jugend bearb. v. *Mor. Gans* mit 11 Abbildungen in Farbendruck. Bd. 3, *Neues Lese-Cabinet für die reifere Jugend.* 8°, 216ˢ. Pesth, Heckernast's Verlag.

Moritz Gans von Ludassy (Komorn, 1829-1886 Reichenau) was a writer of novels and short stories especially for young people.

(25) 1853. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* für Kinder nach dem Engl. v. *Aug. Härtel,* 48ˢ mit eingedr. Holzschn. *Kindererzählungen,—illustrirte für Sommertage u. Winterabende.* Bd. 2. Leipzig, Haendel.

(26) 1853. *Onkel Tom's Schicksal,* Erzählung für die Jugend. Für deutsche Jugend bearb. v. *Max Schasler.* 2 Bdchn. 8° (IV 348^{s}), 6 Colorlith. *Hausbibliothek der Jugend,* Bd. 1, 2. hg. v. Hasselberg. Berlin, Hasselberg.

Dr. Max Schasler [1819-1901 (?)] was a well-known "Aesthetiker" and founder of the *Deutsche Kunst-Zeitung.*

(27) 1853. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* oder das Leben der Sklaven in Amerika, nach Harriet Beecher Stowe, für die Jugend bearb. v. *Leopold Streich,* 8°, 158^{s}. Streich's *Lesecabinet für die Jugend.* Berlin, Faudel.

(28) 1853. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* Erzählung für Kinder bearb. *Neues Bilder- u. Lesebuch.* gr. 4° m. 8 Illustr. in Tondr. 20^{s} (colorirten Lith. m. Titelvignette). Nürnberg, Lossbeck.

(29) 1853. *Illustrationen* zu *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* 16 Blätter u. Zeichnungen v. *H. Anelay,* m. d. Portrait v. H. Stowe, nebst einer Vorrede v. Elihu Burritt, einer Biographie der Verfasserin, und erläut. Anmerk. zu *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* 8°, 16^{s}. Leipzig, Friedlein, Zieger.

(30) 1853. *Onkel Tom,* Amerikan. Zeitgemälde mit Gesang u. Tanz in 3 Abthlgn. nebst einem Vorspiel, nach Stowe's *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* von *Therese v. Megerle. Theater-Repertoire,* lfg. 26. 37^{s}, 10 ngr. Wien, Wallishauser's Druckerei.

(31) 1854. *Evangeline und Neger Tom*—aus *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* ausgewählt für die liebe Jugend in Haus u. Schule mit Vorwort v. *Karl Mann,* gr. 8° (VII 270^{s}). Stuttgart, Quack.

(32) 1864.[14] *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* oder Leben unter den Verstossenen, nach dem Engl. frei bearb. v. *Adolph Strodtmann,* gr. 8°, 271^{s}. Philadelphia, U. S. A., Schäfer u. Koradi.

[14] Heinzius, 1864, Kayser, 1874.

It is probable that this translation first appeared in 1853, of *Mag. für die Lit. des Auslandes* (1853, No. 68, June 7th).

Adolf Strodtmann (1829-1879) sailed for America in 1852 and opened a bookstore, publishing house and lending library in Philadelphia. This business he gave up in 1854. He published *Die Locomotive,* in which work he was aided by Otto v. Corvin. He translated skillfully, and in easy flowing language. He caught the spirit of the language and translated idiomatically. He is known as a poet and critic.

(33) 1870. *Tom's Hütte,* oder das Sklavenleben in Amerika, für die Jugend bearb. v. *Wilh. Kammerer,* mit 4 Stahlst., 8°, 116^{s}. Regensburg, Manz.

(34) 1875. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* frei nach dem Eng. v. *A. Eltze,* 8°, 296^{s}. Berlin, Janke.

(35) 1875-1879. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* oder Negerleben in dem Sklavenstaaten von Amerika aus dem Engl. übersetzt. *Universal Bibliothek,* Reclam jun. No. 961-965; 550^{s}. Leipzig, Reclam.

(36) 1880. *Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Erzählung aus dem fernen Westen für die Jugend bearb. v. *Br. Hoffmann,* m. 5 farbendr. Illustr. nach orig. Zeichnungen v. *C. Koch.* gr. 8°, 218^{s}. Leipzig, Drewitz.

(37) 1880. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* oder das Sklavenleben der Schwarzen in Amerika.

Bd. 36 *Christliche Volksibliothek* Altöttling (Bayern). J. Lutzenberger.

(38) 1881. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* nach dem Engl. Orig. neu bearbeitet. 8°, 320^{s}. 1885, 8° (IV 320^{s}). Berlin, Janke.

(39) 1885. *Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Erzählung aus dem fernen Westen übersetzt und bearbeitet v. *C. v. Boeck* mit 1 farbendr. Illustr. nach orig. Aquarelle, v. *Marie Koch,* 8°, 218^{s}. Berlin, Drewitz.

C. v. der Boeck (1832-1893, Berlin) is well known as a writer of stories for the young, especially in "plattdeutsch." It is probable that he translated *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as early as 1880, as this date is given to the translation in the list of his works.

(40) 1886. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* oder Negerleben in der Sklavenstaaten von Nord Amerika, neue Ausg. 336s. *Familien Bibliothek Calwer.* 3 Aufl., 1899. 320s. Calw. Vereinsbuchh., Stuttgart.

(41) 1888. (1) *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* für Jugend bearb. v. *M. Jacobi.* 8°, 172s; mit 4 farbendr. Bildern nach Aquarellen v. *G. Grenz.*

(2) 1891, dass. nach Aquarellen v. *G. Franz.* 8°, 172s.

(3) 1893, dass. mit 4 farbendr. Bildern v. *W. Hoffmann.* 3 Aufl., 8°, 172s.

(4) 1899.

(5) 1901.

(6) 1904, same as (3).
Stuttgart, Thienemann.

Margarethe Jacobi was born in Königsberg in Pr., and from 1884 has been a translator from the Italian, French and English. She lives in Cannstadt, where she has a "pension" for girls. The translation 1897 is a new work and not a new edition of the one in 1888.

(42) 1894. *Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Eine Erzählung aus dem Negerleben in den Amerikanischen Sklavenstaaten. Nach H. B. Stowe für die Jugend geschrieben. Übersetzt von *Heinrich Herold,* mit 5 farbendr. Bildern v. *W. Schäfer.* 12°. 1899, 12° (72s m. 5 farbendr.). *Düms Knabenbibliothek.* Wesel, W. Düms.

Heinrich Herold (1863-) is a school inspector and writer of pedagogical works in Westphalia. He also edits the "Boys' Library."

(43) 1897. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* neu übersetzt v. *Margarethe Jacobi* mit 112 Illustr. u. 1 farbendr. Bild. gr. 8°, 614s. geb. in Leinw. M. 7—. Erschien auch in 20 Lfgn., a M. 30—1898; 1899, 3 Aufl. Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, Stuttgart.

(44) 1897. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* nach dem Engl. Original bearb. v. *H. Trescher.* 342s, No. 1098-1102 *Bibliothek der Gesammtliteratur des In- u. Auslandes.* Halle, O. Hendel.

H. Trescher (1849-1891 (?)) was a journalist and writer of short stories.

(45) 1898. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* oder Negerleben in den Sklavenstaaten in Amerika. 8°, 240s. Illustriert v. *Pet. Geh.* Berlin, Fz. Schulze.

1902, dass. m. 5 (3 farbendr.) Taf. Berlin, R. Gahl.

(46) 1898. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* für die Jugend bearb. v. *Marie v. Felseneck.* 8°, (160s, m. 4 farbendr.). Berlin, A. Weichert.

Marie v. *Felsenek* und *Wilhelm Forster* are the pseudonyms used by Frl. *Maria L. Mancke* (Leipzig, 1847—) in Berlin. She began her career as a teacher in Leipzic, then wrote sketches for the newspapers, and since 1893 her greater works have appeared, all of which are juvenile literature.

(47) 1898. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* nach der original Erzählung für die Jugend; v. *Gustav Heine* mit 5 autotyp. nach Originalen von *Karl Müller.* gr. 8°, 222s.
1903, neue Ausg. 8°, 208s. Berlin, H. J. Meidinger.

(48) 1899. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* für die Jugend bearb. v. *Klaus Bernhard.* 8°, 80s, m. 4 Farbendr. Stuttgart, G. Wiese.

(49) 1900. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* das weltberühmte Buch über das Elend der Negersklaven (v. H. B. Stowe); neu übersetzt v. *Hildwig Andrae* Massenausg. 12°, 555^{s}. Verlag der akadem. Buchh. W. Faber & Co. Berlin, Westend.

(50) 1901. *Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Eine Erzählung für die Jugend nach H. B. Stowe, neu bearbeitet mit 4 Vollbildern u. 18 Federzeichnungen v. *Alb. Geyer.* 8°, 239^{s}. 1904 neue Ausg. M. 2.50.

1904 neue Ausg. Volksaufl. M. 1.50. Leipzig, Abel u. Müller.

(51) 1903. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* unter Mitwirkung v. *Münchgesang,* neu bearbeitet v. *O. Hoffman.* 8°, 124^{s}, m. Abb. u. Farbendr. Stuttgart, W. Nitzsche.

(52) 1904. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* bearbeitet von *G. Reichard.* 8°, 223^{s}, m. Abb. u. Farbendr. Berlin, Verlag Jugendhort.

(53) 1904. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* neu bearbeitet v. *U. Mentzel.* 8°, 96^{s}. Berlin, Verlag Jugendhort.

(54) 1905. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* frei nach dem Engl. bearbeitet v. *E. v. Feilitzsch,* 8°, 224^{s}. Volksausg. M. 1.50. Prachtausg. Kunstdr. Beil. M. 2—.

Frl. Emmy v. Feilitzsch is a translator of English and French works in Augsburg.

(55) 1906. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* nach Harriet Beecher Stowe für die Jugend bearb. v. *Rud. Reichardt.* gr. 8°, 24^{s}, m. 5 farbendr. Berlin, Globus Verlag.

(56) 1906. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* nach Harriet Beecher Stowe für die Jugend bearb. m. 4 Bunt.- u. 32 Text-Bildern v. *Willy Planck* übers. v. *Petersen* (*Geo. Paysen*). 8° (VII 150^{s}), dass. m. 32 Textbildern v. *W. Planck,* Volksausg. 8° (VII-150^{s}), 2 Aufl. 1906. Stuttgart, Loewe.

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

(57) 1907. *Onkel Tom's Hütte* (v. Harriet Beecher Stowe), oder Negerleben in den Sklavenstaaten v. Amerika; bearb. v. *Otto Zimmermann.* 8°, 298^{s}. Leipzig, O. Spamer.

(58) 1908. *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* v. H. B. Stowe übersetzt und für die Jugend bearbeitet v. *Wilh. Lehr.* Mit Titelbild v. *E. Fiedler.* kl. 8°, 96^{s}. In 1001 *Erzählungen für Jung und Alt.* Berlin, H. Hilger.

Editions in other languages published in Germany:

(1) 1852. *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* by Harriet Beecher-Stowe, with a new preface expressly written for this edition, authorized for the continent of Europe. 2 vols., No. 243, 244. Collection of British Authors. Leipzig, B. Tauchnitz.

(2) 1889. *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* a Tale of Life among the Lowly. 8°, 382^{s}. Leipzig, Gressner u. Schramm.

(3) 1895, 1898, 1902. *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* Modern English for Schools. Biogr. Sketch and Notes, by *Heinr. Saure.* vocab. (also *Little Lord Fauntleroy,* by F. H. Burnett). Vol. I of *Modern English Authors,* ed. by *H. Saure.* 8°. Berlin, F. A. Herbig.

(4) 1853. Abrégé de l'Histoire de l'oncle Tom à l'usage de la jeunesse. 212^{s}. Vol. XXIV. *Bibliothèque petite francaise au choix des meilleurs ouvrages de la literature moderne à l'usage de la jeunesse, suivi d'un questionaire par Mme. A. Brée.* Leipzig, Baumgartner.

Translations of the *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin:*

(1) 1853. *Schlüssel* zu *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* enthaltend die Original-Tatsachen und Beweisstücke, auf welche die Erzählung gegründet ist, nebst neuen Darlegungen, welche die Wahrheit des Werkes bekräftigen. Aus dem Engl. 8°, 4 Thle. (XXX, 591^{s}). Berlin, Duncker u. Humblot.

(2) 1853. *Schlüssel zu Onkel Tom's Hütte,* u. s. w. Leipzig, Fock.

(3) 1853. *Schlüssel zu Onkel Tom's Hütte,* u. s. w. Bd. 5. *Neue Volksbibliothek,* hg. v. *Aug. Schrader.* 8°. Leipzig, Friedlein.

(4) 1853. *Schlüssel* zu *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* u. s. w. 8°, 448[s]. Leipzig, Zieger.

1853. *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin.* Vols. 266-267. *Collection of British Authors.* Leipzig, Tauchnitz.

III. Notices and Reviews.

1. *Circulating Libraries' and Publishers' Notices.*

"Wer hätte nicht Stowe's *Onkel Tom's Hütte* gelesen! Das Aufsehen welches das Buch gemacht ist einzig!"[15] This seems to be the opinion of the majority of the newspapers and journals of Germany. The lending libraries advertised the book in their latest accession.

"Leihbibliothek von Gustav Oehler, *Onkel Tom's Hütte.*"[16]

"Leihbibliothek von Wilhelm Meck in Konstanz, *Onkel Tom's Hütte.*"[17]

One reader waited impatiently for another to finish, and the volumes soon became so dilapidated that new ones were bought to replace them. Hardly any novel has had so great a popularity as this—surely no American novel—is the testimony of librarians. Booksellers and publishers say that new editions could not be printed rapidly enough to supply the demand. An average of 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 books were produced in Germany in a year says *Unterhaltungen am Häuslichen Herd,*[18] and in 20-25,000 copies was *Uncle Tom* scattered.

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[15] *Allgem. Zeitung,* Augsb., 1852, No. 351, Dec.

[16] *Intell. Blatt d. fr. Stadt. Fkft.* 2 Beil. No. 237, 6 Oct., 1852.

[17] *Konstanzer Zeitung,* 1852, Beil. 307.

[18] 1854, No. 46, p. 735.

Hartleben in Leipzig gives to the public the following notice:

"Diesen ausserordentlichen Erfolg konnten wir bei der ungeheueren Concurrenz von deutschen Ausgaben nicht vorsehen, weshalb mehrere Bestellungen nicht expedirt werden konnten. Aus dieser Verlegenheit hat uns die Sommer'sche Druckerei in Wien geholfen, welche diese zweite Ausgabe (15 Bogen) binnen 3 Tagen durch Anstellung von 10 Setzern in Beihilfe eines Teiles ihrer 8 durch Dampfkraft getriebenen Schnellpressen hergestellt hat. Es ist nun wieder ein hinreichender Vorrat auf unserem Leipziger Lager, um jede Bestellung sogleich expediren zu können."[19]

In "*Europa*"[20] we read that "*Onkel Tom's Hütte* wird bald in den Händen aller Menschenfreunde sein"; and Weber, the publisher, in Leipzig advertises the book as the most famous of the day.[21] A notice of the Tauchnitz edition expresses the usual wonder at the great popularity of the book, and adds:

"Es versichert uns ein glaubwürdiger Buchhändler aus der zuverlässigsten Quelle, dass in Deutschland einige zwanzig Übersetzungen erschienen oder angekündigt sind. Etwas zu diesem Erfolg trägt freilich die krankhafte Neigung zu gräulichen Dingen bei; im Allgemeinen aber hat er doch eine solide Grundlage; er beruht auf einer gerechten sittlichen Entrüstung."[22]

Of the two translations into German, which were published in America, the one by *Adolf Strodtmann* is the best, from the point of view of language—and naturally so, when we consider that Strodtmann was a critic and poet as well as translator; but it was not recognized by Mrs. Stowe, because it was made without her permission. Thus it is evi-

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[19] *Allgem. Zeitung*, Augsb. 1852, Beil. 331, 26 Nov.
[20] 1852, No. 92, 11 Nov., p. 735.
[21] *Allgem. Zeitung*, 1852, No. 495, Dec. 25, p. 416.
[22] *Grenzhoten*, 1852, IV, p. 317.

dent that the "Schwärmerei für *Uncle Tom's Cabin*", as Rudolf Gottschall[23] calls the popularity of the book, also affected the Germans in America.

2. *Newspaper Comments and Critical Reviews.*

In the perusal of the *newspapers* of the years 1852 and following, we find a host of short *notices* of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* Nearly every discussion of social conditions, in which a reference is made to slavery, mentions the book. The notices in English papers were translated and copied over and over again. Reports of the great sale and demand of the book, sketches of the author's life, descriptions of her personal appearance, and notes on her journey to England and the Continent abound.

"Die Verfasserin von *Onkel Tom's Hütte* kommt zum Besuch nach England. Wenn sie auch einen Abstecher nach dem Continent macht, wollen ihre sämmtliche Übersetzer als Vorspann über den Canal dienen!"[24]

Some of the notices are favorable and appreciative, some sarcastic and ironical, and all recognize the power of the writer and the influence of her work. An example of both favorable and unfavorable criticism will serve to illustrate this, as follows:

"Vielleicht sind die Grausamkeiten, welche in *Onkel Tom's Hütte* berichtet, vereinzelt da und dort vorgekommen, aber die blind-fantastische Schriftstellerin hat daraus ein literarisches Monstrum geballt, und in eine verhängnissvolle Frage die giftigste Bitterkeit gebracht."[25]

In an entirely different tone is the following short criticism:

"Das Buch ist politisch-geistlicher Tendenz. Die ungeheuere Sensation welche diese Schilderungen der Greuel des Sklaventums in den freien Vereinigten Staaten machen

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[23] *Blätter für lit. Unterh.*, 1853, I, No. 2, Jan. 8, p. 35.
[24] *Preuss. Zeitung*, 1853, No. 10, Jan. 13.
[25] *Mannh. Unterh. Blatt.*, 1855, II, No. 295, 299, Dec. 12, 17.

musste, ist erklärlich und entschuldigt den Mangel an Zusammenhang, in dem es fast mehr *aneinander* gelegte als *ineinander* verflochtene Scenen bietet. * * * Wir können es in jedes Haus empfehlen, da es in echt christlichem Geist geschrieben ist. Evangeline und ihren Tod kann man ein wirklich christliches Bild nennen."

The *Mannheimer Unterhaltungsblatt* published the story as a serial from 1852 No. 246 Oct. 15, to No. 303 Dec. 21, with the following announcement: "Wir teilen hiermit unsern Lesern den berühmtesten Roman mit, welcher seit vielen Jahren erschien. Kein Buch hat in diesem Jahrhunderte solches Aufsehen erregt wie dieser amerikanische Roman, der an Naturwahrheit alle anderen Romane übertrifft."

We could continue to quote notices and references to the author and her work, but these examples suffice to show how much the public mind was occupied with the story and how deep an impression it made.

Reviews of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* appeared in the literary journals and magazines shortly after its appearance in translation, and they present some interesting criticism on the subject, its treatment and the characters.

Rudolf Gottschall in *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung,*[26] criticizes the book fairly from the point of view of literary value:

"*Uncle Tom's Cabin* kann wenigstens keinen Anspruch darauf machen ein Kunstwerk zu sein and ein vorwiegend ästhetisches Interesse zu beschäftigen und zu befriedigen. * * * Die Handlung hat sogar keine concentrischen Kreise, keinen Mittelpunkt; es sind zwei Handlungen die parallel nebeneinander herlaufen." * * * Whereupon he sketches the story and adds:

"Die Fabel ist spannend. Mrs. Stowe versteht zu erzählen und für ihre Gestalten zu interessiren."

The treatment of the slave-question he discusses in the following:

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[26] 1852, No. 2, p. 35-6, Jan. 8.

"Eine Frau bemächtigt sich dieser Frage, schildert in lebendiger, dramatischer Wirklichkeit das Leben der Sklaven, rührt und ergreift durch geschickt angelegte Scenen, entwickelt mit einer an Raffinement grenzenden Schärfe Alles was die Gemüther der Sache der Unterdrückten günstig stimmen und gegen das harte Gesetz und seine oft rohen Vollstrecker empören kann, * * * Mrs. Stowe hat das Anathem der Humanität auf die Sklavengesetze geschleudert; sie hat ihr Werk mit der Begeisterung eines edeln Herzens geschrieben."

In conclusion Gottschall gives as his opinion of the book:

"Ein Baustein zu sein am Tempel der Humanität, das ist das dauernde Verdienst des *Uncle Tom's Cabin* und in diesem Sinne mag es uns in Deutschland willkommen sein."

The *Allgemeine Zeitung* discusses the subject of slavery in America and speaks with enthusiasm of *Uncle Tom.*

"Wir haben seit langer Zeit kein Buch gelesen das uns so tief ergriffen, so anhaltend gefesselt hätte wie, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* von Mrs. H. B. Stowe; wir übersehen so manche Unebenheiten der Sprache über der tiefen Naturwahrheit, welche in diesem Buche von Anfang bis zu Ende waltet. Die Abolitionisten-Partei in den Vereinigten Staaten kann der Verfasserin eine Bürgerkrone votiren; denn eine mächtigere Bundesgenossin als Mrs. H. B. Stowe und ihren Roman hätte sie nicht bekommen können. Dieser Roman verdient die ungeheuere Popularität die er so rasch in zwei Welttheilen, in Europa wie in seiner Heimat erlangt hat; denn aus dem Leben gegriffen, greift er wieder tief ins Leben hinein."

Of the characters the critic says:

"Welch eine der grossartigsten Dramas würdige Heldengestalt ist dieser Georg!"

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[21] *Allgem. Zeitung,* Augsb. 1852, Beil. No. 281, 7 Oct., 282, 8 Oct.

And of St. Claire:

"Dieser Character ist ausserordentlich instructiv; wie überhaupt die meisterhafte Schilderung des Lebens auf St. Clare's üppigreichen Besitzungen beweist wie die Verfasserin mit der feinsten und umfassendsten Kenntniss der Menschen und der Gesellschaft im allgemeinen, zugleich ein Fond von Phantasie und Poesie vereinigt, der sie den bedeutedsten Dichtern der neuern Zeit an die Seite stellt."

Of Eva and Topsy:

"Welch' eine reizende Gestalt ist diese kleine 'Evangelina', ein wirklicher Evangelist in Kinderkleidchen! * * * Ein Seitenstück zu diesem ätherischen Kinde, bildet die gnomenartige Gestalt der kleinen Topsy. Sie ist die umgekehrte Mignon."

Finally the reviewer concludes, after remarks upon the question of slavery, with the words:

"Dieser Roman kommt uns wie ein Mahnzeichen der neuen an die alte Welt vor."

In *Minerva*[28] we find a review, over fifty pages in length, which discusses in detail political affairs in America and relates the story of the book with some criticism. Of the general impression of the book the writer says:

"Es fehlt dem Buche der Mrs. Stowe an Einheit * * * aber was kümmert sie sich um Kunst, Literatur, Einheit der Composition; ihr Buch ist ganz anderer Zwecke wegen geschrieben."

Another critic says:[29]

"Mrs. Stowe wird uns fortan schon ein herzgewonnener Name bleiben, weil ihr Buch so ausserordentlich reich ist an den lieblichsten Charakterzügen und den rührendsten Situationen. * * * Sie hat verstanden der ganzen gesitteten Welt, die Leiden der Neger an's Herz zu legen."

One critic says Mrs. Stowe does not solve the problem

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[28] *Minerva, ein Journal für Geschichte, Politik n. Literatur,* v. Dr. Friedrich Bran, Jena, 1852, IV, p. 267-321.

[29] *Unterh. am Häusl. Herd,* Gutzkow, 1853, No. 7, p. 1 ff.

which she vividly describes—but others agree that this was not her purpose.[30]

Two reviews consider the book more a hindrance than a help to the cause of anti-slavery; one calls the author a writer of an "empfindsamen Roman" and the whole work "empfindendes Stowethum"; the other says she tears open the half-healed wounds of the South instead of pouring oil upon them;[31] yet neither can deny her talent as shown in the work.

A writer for the *Freiburger Zeitung*[32] gives a different opinion of the book:

"Das Buch ist aus einem edlen, frommen Frauen- und Mutterherzen hervorgegangen * * * und es ist eins der erhebendsten Zeichen der Zeit, dass ein solches Buch sich rasch einen so universellen Leserkreis sichern konnte. Nur eine Frau und—abgesehen davon dass es sich zunächst um amerikanische Zustände handelt—vielleicht nur eine Amerikanerin, die sich auf einer festen religiösen Basis mit um so grösserer Sicherheit und Unabhängigkeit bewegen kann, möchte das Buch haben schreiben können."

The general opinion of all the reviewers and critics is that the book is unique, and because of that fact and because of its political and social "tendenz" it was bound to be circulated and read, and it left behind a picture of the black race, which could not be banished. The negro characters are considered by all well drawn, and to form a "gallery of black faces".[33] Those of the slave traders are wondered at and by some thought to be unusual, but their truth to nature is not doubted. Mr. Shelby and Mr. St. Clare are recognized as types of slave owners in the South, who had not the moral courage to free their slaves. Mrs. St. Clare is thought to be a type of woman not restricted to the Southern States of America, but found in every circle of society. Miss

[30] *Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser*, 1853, No. 19, p. 449-451, Mar. 8.
[31] *Neue Preuss. Zeitung*, 1852, No. 279, Dec. 1.
[32] 1853, No. 52, 2 Mar., p. 205-6, "Frau B. St. u. ihre Familie."
[33] Gottschall, *Bl. f. lit. Unterh.*, 1853, No. 2, p. 35 ff.

Ophelia is the Puritan. Uncle Tom is the negro preacher, while little Eva is dwelt upon by all as a poetical figure—a "Mignon", and Topsy as her opposite. The broadminded and intelligent readers recognized the power of the book in the cause of freedom, while those soured by discouragement and disappointment regarded it jealously as an intruder, and criticised the public taste; but the public, sympathetic and liberty-loving, felt the deep earnestness of purpose of the writer, which appealed to their best motives.

IV. "Uncle Tom's Cabin", in Poetry and Music.

A novel which has great circulation and popularity, frequently has influence which shows itself in further development in poetry, music or the drama.

In the *Badische Landeszeitung,* 1853, No. 47, February 25, we find the following verses:

"Hat es je solche Kinder gegeben, wie Eva? Ja; doch ihre Namen stehen immer auf Grabmalerei!"—*Onkel Tom's Hütte.*

1. Evangeline! tausend, tausend Grüsse
Send' ich Dir nach in Deine Lichtgefilde;
Mein Herz, verweilend gern bei Deinem Bilde,
Erkennt und liebt in jedem Zug Luise!

2. Du Wesen eins, der fleckenlosen, reinen,
Die eingehüllt in überird'sche Schöne—
So duftig sind und zart dass alle Töne
Und Farben dieser Welt nicht würdig scheinen;

3. Sie zu besingen, oder sie zu malen—
Erscheinung voller Hohheit, wie voll Süsse,
Evangeline Du und Du Luise!
Umgeben nun von ew'ger Glorie Strahlen.

4. Luise, theures Kind Du meiner Seele!
Evangeline, Kind der fernen Zone,
Ihr, liebend nun vereint vor Gottes Throne—
Zu meinen Engeln ich Euch Beide wähle.

5. Luise Du und Du Evangeline,
Aus Licht und Duft gewobene Gestalten,
Die arme Erde konnte Euch nicht halten,
Sie—aller Schönheit, alles Glücks Ruine!

6. Wir weinen und wir klagen; denn wir nennen
Es sterben, wenn ein Engel zieht von hinnen,
Ach! an der Aussenwelt hängt unser Sinnen—
Wie sollten wir denn Euren Himmel kennen?

In the "*Frankfurter Theater Almanach,* herausgegeben von Ernst Gotzler für 1854, Frankfurt am Main", we find a humorous poem, by *Moritz Gottlieb Saphir* (1795-1858), entitled

Onkel Tom's Hütte.

Heisa, juchheisa! Heisasasa!
Da sind wir im göttlichen Amerika!
Wandert hin, wandert hinüber, wandert aus!
Dort lebt man frei, dort lebt man im Saus!
Dort gibt's keine Haslinger, keinen Stock!
Dort gibt's keinen Prügel, keinen Block;
Dort braucht man keinen Heimatsschein,
Dort regiert blos die—*die Peitsche allein!*
Welch' freies Volk! Welcher Schwung!
Die *Peitsche* schwingt dort Alt und Jung!
Das ist ein Volk! so frei und so brav!
Mit Füssen getreten wird nur—*der Sklav'!*
Das ist ein Volk! dort gibt's *Menschenrecht!*
Mit Füssen getreten wird nur—der Knecht!
Wie schmeckt dem freien Mann' die Zigarre im Mund;
Wenn er den Sklaven dabei züchtigt wie den Hund,
Dem Nasenstüber entflieht einzig der Deutsche;
Und findet dort drüben lieblich—*die Peitsche!*

Of the literary quality of these verses we will not speak. They simply show the wide-spread interest in the book and its subject.

The following ballad, entitled *Elisa,* by *Georg Linley,* may be a translation from English,[34] but we believe it to be original in this form:

[34] *Illustr. Zeitung,* 1852, II, No. 491, p. 349, Nov. 27.

1. Die Mutter, ihr Kind im Arme,
Springt verzweifelnd in den Fluss;
Das Knäblein ihren Hals umschlingt,
Das Eis kracht unterm Fuss;
Die wilden Wogen rauschen schrill,
Doch vom Geschick bedroht
Dass man das Kind ihr rauben will,
Ist süsser ihr der Tod,
Ist süsser ihr der Tod.

Refrain: Sie weiss, dass Gott im Himmel thront
Und Er sie nicht vergisst,
Und Mutterlieb' im Herzen wohnt,
Wiewol sie Sklavin ist.
Und Mutterlieb' im Herzen wohnt,
Wiewol sie Sklavin ist.

2. Ohnmächtig, wanken Schritts
Erreicht sie das erwünschte Land;
Ein heisser Thränenstrom bezeigt,
Dass sie an sicheren Strand.
Sie drückt ihr Knäblein an ihr Herz—
Doch wohin kann sie nun?
Wo findet sich ein Freund? O Schmerz,
Wo soll die Arme ruh'n?
Wo soll die Arme ruh'n?
Refrain—as above.

This ballad is given with the music in the *Illustrirte Zeitung,* and is advertised by Weber in Leipzig as one of the *"Gesänge zu Onkel Tom's Hütte,* Lieder und Balladen mit Pianofortebegleitung von Georg Linley. Inhalt: 1, Elisa; 2, Georg; 3, Evangeline; 4, Eva. Wie die Bilder zu diesem die ganze civilisirte Welt aufregenden Romane die Gestalten und Scenen desselben illustriren, so diese Lieder, die Gefühle. Der Componist hat damit nicht als gelehrter Musiker glänzen; er hat die einfachen aber tiefen Empfindungen des Naturmenschen im Volkston ausdrücken wollen, und das ist ihm vortrefflich gelungen. Wer nur etwas Stimme und Musikkenntniss hat, kann die Melodien vom Blatt singen; wer nur etwas Klavier spielt, kann die

Begleitung ebenso leicht dazu ausführen. Alle aber, die diese Lieder hören, müssen auf's tiefste davon ergriffen werden. Wie der Roman in einer bisher beispiellosen Weise sich bereits verbreitet hat, und die Tausende von Neuerschienenen Exemplaren im Augenblicke wieder von dem Publikum verschlungen werden, so werden auch diese Lieder dazu ihres bedeutenden Interesses, ihrer leichten Ausführlichkeit und ihres tiefen, in's Herz dringenden Ausdrucks wegen eine Verbreitung finden, wie wohl auch im Gebiete der Musik noch kein Beispiel vorhanden sein möchte."

These ballads show to what extent the interest of the public was given to *Uncle Tom.* Not only in ballad form was music used to illustrate *Uncle Tom*—or perhaps in this case *Uncle Tom* was an illustration to the music! F. L. Schubert, a writer of popular music, published three "polkas" entitled, 1, *Topsy, I came from Alabama;* 2, *Elisa, When I libd in Tennessee;* 3, *Chloe, Now niggers listen to me;* and we find them also advertised by Weber in Leipzig.[35]

V. "Uncle Tom's Cabin", on the Stage.

1. *In German Theaters in America.*

Uncle Tom's Cabin has been frequently dramatized, and has been presented upon the stage in every leading city in America for over fifty years, and by some of the most famous American actors and actresses. Even now some five hundred actors live by this play alone, and nothing indicates a cessation of this marvelous popularity, though, perhaps, it does not attract exactly the same class of people that it did in the earlier days.[36]

The German dramatization by *Megerle* was presented

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[35] *Illustr. Zeitung,* 1853, II, No. 542, p. 172-3, Sept. 10.

[36] "*Fifty Years of 'Uncle Tom,'*" by F. C. Arnett, *Munsey's Mag.,* 1902, p. 897-902.

in German theaters in the United States, as their records show. For example, in Philadelphia the following presentations are recorded:[37]

1856—May 31. *D. N. T. Melodeon,* 201 Chestnut Street. Stowe-Birch-Pfeiffer, *Onkel Tom's Hütte.*

1857—March 23. *D. N. T.* Stowe-Megerle, *Onkel Tom's Hütte.*

1858—September 15, 16. *Volkstheater,* 215 Coates Street. Stowe-Megerle, *Onkel Tom's Hütte.*

1864—April 27, 28. *Philadelphia Stadttheater,* between Fourth and Fifth Street, on Callowhill Street. Stowe-Megerle, *Onkel Tom's Hütte.*

1874—February 23, 25; 1875, March 1. *Deutsches Theater in der Turner Halle.* Stowe-Megerle, *Onkel Tom's Hütte.*

1879—May 8, 9. *Germania Theater.* Stowe-Megerle, *Onkel Tom's Hütte.*

2. *In Germany.*

There are at least five distinct dramatizations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in German, and probably more adaptations. The only one published was the work of *Therese von Megerle,* which appeared in Wien, 1853. She was the writer of plays and short stories, *Therese Megerle von Mühlfeld* (Pressburg, 1813-1865, Wien).[38]

Notices of this dramatization appear in December, 1852,[39] and it is probable that it was ready for stage use before its publication.

The following is a list of the presentations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Germany, gathered from the study of theater advertisements and almanacs.[40]

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[37] Lewis, *The German Stage in Philadelphia* (in mss.), Prof. M. D. Learned, Univ. of Penna.

[38] Pataky, *Lex. deu. Frauen d. Feder,* Berlin, 1898.

[39] *Fkt. Intell. Blatt,* 3 Beil. 1852, No. 308, Dec. 29. *Grenzboten,* 1852, IV, p. 479.

[40] A. Heinrich, *Deu. Bühnen-Almanach.*

1852-1853.

1. *Aachen,* Stadttheater—*Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Novität.

2. *Augsburg,* Stadttheater—*Onkel Tom's Hütte.*[41]

3. *Ballenstedt,* Herzogliches Hoftheater vereinigt mit dem Stadttheater in *Halberstadt. Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Novität.

4. *Berlin,* Königstädtisches Theater, Charlottenstr. 90. Here the dramatization by *G. Dankwardt* and *W. Kahleis—dramatische Gemälde mit Gesang in vier Acten,* with music by *Hauptner,* was presented seven times, according to the *Neue Preussische Zeitung;* and another adaptation entitled *Barbier und Neger, oder Onkel Tom in Deutschland,* Posse mit Gesang in zwei Acten von *Ernst Nonne*; also with music by Hauptner was advertised once.

A critic speaks of the former dramatization as follows: "*Onkel Tom's Hütte* ist ein sehr schwacher Roman, aber es ist eine interessante, wenn auch eine unerfreuliche Schrift, und es fragt sich, ob es überhaupt wohlgetan, solchen Stoff auf die Bühne zu bringen. Da indess die rüstige Tätigkeit der Abolitionisten-Partei dem Buch auch in Europa die weiteste Verbreitung verschafft hat, so konnte die Dramatizierung nicht ausbleiben, und wir müssen zugeben, dass die Arbeit der Herren Danckwardt und Kahleis keine ungeschickte ist. Aus ihren eigenen Mitteln haben die Bearbeiter den Berliner Pelzhändler, Fritz Grübler, hinzugetan, aber die wirkliche poetische Figur im Roman der Mme. Stowe, Evangeline, fehlt in der dramatischen Bearbeitung."[43]

5. *Berlin,*[44] Vorstädtisches Theater—*Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Novität.

6. *Bremen,* Stadttheater—*Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Novität.

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[41] 1852, No. 300 bis 304, 1852, No. 1-7, 11-12, Dec. 25-Jan. 15.

[42] *Neue Preuss. Zeitung,* 1853, No. 5, Jan. 7.

[43] *Europa,* 1853, No. 5, p. 32.

7. *Brünn,* Königl. städtisches Theater—*Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Novität.

8. *Coblenz,* Stadttheater—*Onkel Tom's Hütte.*

9. *Danzig,* Stadttheater—*Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Novität.

10. *Elbing,* Stadttheater, vereinigt mit dem Stadttheater zu *Marienburg*—*Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Novität.

11. *Frankfurt am Main,* Stadttheater—*Onkel Tom.* Schauspiel in 4 Abteilungen, frei bearbeitet von *Olfers.*[45]

This dramatization seems to have been presented in Frankfurt only once with the result that, in the words of a critic, "am Schlusse des Stückes hat sich das Publikum in zwei Lager geteilt und während die eine Partei die Mitglieder hervorrief, zischte und pfiff die andere. Wenn überhaupt der Roman *Onkel Tom* sich zu einer Bühnenbearbeitung eignet, so müssen wir der uns hier gebotenen Bearbeitung jedenfalls hier den Vorzug vor den Anderen geben, da sie bühnengewandt und mit kundiger Hand gearbeitet ist, und die Hauptmomente des Romans in kurzen Skizzen in gedrängter Kürze uns vorführt. Wir glauben dass trotz der von einigen Wenigen gemachten Demonstrationen *Onkel Tom* ein für die Direction ganz ergiebiges Sonntagsstück werden dürfte."[46]

12. *Freiburg,* Stadttheater—*Onkel Tom.* Schauspiel von *Dr. Olfers.*[47]

13. *Fünfkirchen,* Städtisches-privilegirtes Theater—*Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Schauspiel.

14. *Görlitz,* Stadttheater—*Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Novität.

15. *Gross-Beezkerek,* Stadttheater—*Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Novität.

16. *Hamburg,* Vereinigte Theater—*Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Novität.

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[45] *Fkt. Theater Almanach,* hg. v. Ernst Götzler, 1854; *Fkt. Konv.-Blatt,* 1853, No. 42, 43, 44, Feb. 17, 19, 21; *Fkt. Intell.-Blatt,* 1853, 4 Beil., No. 41, 42, 45.

[46] *Fkt. Intell.-Blatt,* 1853, 8 Beil., No. 45, Feb. 23.

[47] *Freib. Zeitung,* 1853, No. 43, Feb. 19.

The adaptation for the stage used here was by *Wallheim,* according to *Europa.*[48]

17. *Hermannstadt,* Stadttheater—*Onkel Tom.* Melodram.

18. *Kaschau,* Stadttheater—*Onkel Tom.* Novität.

19. *Klagenfurt,* Ständisches Theater—*Onkel Tom.* Novität.

20. *Königsberg in Preussen,* Stadttheater—*Onkel Tom.* Novität.

21. *Laibach,* Ständisches Theater, verbunden mit dem Theater in *Triest—Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Schauspiel.

22. *Leipzig,* Stadttheater—*Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Schauspiel.[49]

23. *Lemberg,* k. k. priv. gräflich Skarbek'sches Theater—*Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Schauspiel.

24. *Linz,* Landständisches Theater—*Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Schauspiel.

25. *Lissa in Posen*—Reisende Gesellschaft; *Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Novität.

26. *Magdeburg,* Stadttheater—*Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Novität.

27. *Mainz—Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Schauspiel bearbeitet von *Olfers.*[50]

28. *München,* Neues Vorstadttheater in der Aue—*Onkel Tom's Hütte.* For the popularity of the play in *München* speaks the fact that it was presented twice daily, thirty times. In the following year (1854) it was given in the Volkstheater in der Müllerstrasse as *Onkel Tom.* Novität.

29. *Oldenburg,* städtisches Theater—*Onkel Tom.* Novität.

30. *Prag,* königliches ständisches Theater—*Onkel Tom.* Novität.

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[48] *Europa,* 1853, No. 11, p. 88, Feb. 3.

[49] *Europa,* 1854, No. 14, p. 112, Feb. 10.

[50] *Mainzer Journal,* 1853, No. 42, 43, Feb. 18, 19; *Rhein. Blätter,* 1853, No. 54, 55, Mar. 5, 6.

31. *Pressburg,* königliches ständisches Theater—*Onkel Tom.* Novität.

32. *Rostock,* Stadttheater, vereinigt mit den Aktientheatern zu *Stralsund* und *Greifswald—Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Schauspiel.

33. *Troppau,* Stadttheater—*Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Schauspiel.

34. *Tyrnau,* königliches städtisches Theater—*Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Novität.

35. *Wien,* k. k. priv. Theater in der *Josephstadt—Onkel Tom.* Novität.

36. *Wiesbaden,* Stadt- u. national-Theater—*Onkel Tom.* Novität.

1854.

1. *Bremerhafen—Onkel Tom's Hütte.* Novität.

2. *Kronstadt,* Stadttheater—*Onkel Tom.* Novität.

3. *München,* Volkstheater, Müllerstrasse—*Onkel Tom.* Novität.

It is probable that a representation was given in Baden-Baden, according to a notice in the *Badische Landeszeitung,* 1853, August 13, which says the theater director was wounded in the right arm by a shot during the performance. As a "Puppen-komödie"—*Uncle Tom* appeared in Berlin in Hotel de Russie as *"Onkel Tom, der Berliner Negersklave!* Posse in drei Acten."[51]

It would be interesting to attempt to group these presentations according to the dramatization, and it is probable that in those theaters in which the adaptation was called a "Schauspiel", the dramatization followed was that of Olfers, and in those in which it was called "Novität", that published in Wien by Megerle. It is possible that the one best known was that used successfully in Berlin. However, it is a matter of conjecture and cannot be proved; but it is certain that many theaters from which no detailed reports

[51] *Neue Preuss. Zeitung,* 1852, No. 283-300, Dec. 5-25; 1853, No. 6, 7, Jan. 8, 9.

of performances are to be found in the theater almanacs, also presented the play, following the dramatization best known to them, and adapting it, as it was necessary, to suit the public taste.

The popularity of the play in Germany was due to its great vogue as a novel, and also partly to its friendly reception on the stage in Paris and London, which was frequently noted in the papers.

"Der Roman, *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* ist nicht nur in die meisten europäischen Sprachen übersetzt, sondern hat jetzt auch Eingang auf die Pariser Bühne gefunden. Es sind nichts weniger als drei Melodramen, zwei Vaudevilles und selbst eine Oper aus diesem situationsreichen Stoffe schon fertig. Das Libretto für das theater lyrique ist auch schon unter den Händen des Componisten Adam.—Im königstädtischen Theater zu Berlin ist bereits ein Stück, *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* auf dem Repertoire."[52]

Again we read in the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser* under heading:

"Korrespondenz und Nachrichten aus Paris. *Onkel Tom's Hütte* auf der Bühne. 'La case de l'oncle Tom'! Sechzig Male hat dieses Stück das ziemlich grosse Haus überfüllt, ohne dass die Zuschauer müde geworden wären, die Tiraden der Negersklaven zu beklatschen und wahre Ströme von Thränen über deren unglückliches Schicksal zu vergiessen."[53]

We see, therefore, that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is one of the fortunate, realistic novels which enjoyed a popularity not only between the covers of the book, but in a more life-like form on the stage, both in its own and in foreign lands.

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[52] *Frankfurter Intell.-Blatt,* 4 Beil., 1853, No. 7, Jan. 9; *Beil. Heidelb. Journal,* 1853, No. 4, Jan. 9.

[53] 1853, No. 19, May 8, p. 449-451.

VI. Influence on Literature.

1. *Hackländer.*

The novel in Germany during the period of reaction showed two directions of development under the influence of pessimism; toward the past, in the historical novel, which described the glories of idealized by-gone days, and to the present and future, in the psychological, "Tendenz- und Zeit-Roman", the novel with a purpose, which laid bare the evils of all stages and conditions of the present, and prophesied a dark and gloomy future. The writers of the latter kind of a novel eagerly accepted any new "motif" which the social life offered at home or abroad. The subject of slavery had not been used as a theme in the German novel, and the natural result of the immense popularity of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* together with the peculiar state of the public mind, was imitation and borrowing.

"Es sollte einmal Einer eine europäische *Onkel Tom's Hütte* über das weisse Elend schreiben",[54] was the wish expressed by several reviewers, and this was the purpose of Hackländer in his *Europäisches Sklavenleben.*[55]

Friedrich Wilhelm Hackländer (1816-1877) experienced during his life all stages from poverty to wealth, and thus became intimately acquainted with all classes of society from the poorest to the titled rich. An orphan at twelve years of age, he was first an apprentice, then a soldier, then a clerk, and later a poor, struggling author, until he was noticed and patronized by nobility. In his travels with the Crown Prince of Württemberg, his powers of observation

[54] *Saga,* 1853, No. 5, July 31, p. 37.

[55] See J. Franck, *Allgem. deu. Biogr.,* Bd. 10, p. 296-7; Aug. Henneberger, *Bl. für lit. Unterh.,* 1853, I, 577 ff.; *Meyer's Convers. Lex.,* 3 Aufl., 1876, VIII, 403-4, gives list of works and dates: Rudolph Gottschall—*Die deu. Nat. Lit. des* 19 *Jhts.,* Breslau, 1872, 3 Aufl., Bd. 4, 406-11; References are made to *Europaisches, Sklavenleben,* illustr. v. Arthur Langhammer, 3 Bde., Stuttg. Krabbe, 1885. Reviews of *Europ. Sklavenl.: Litt. Centrbl.,* hrsg. v. Zarnke, Lpz., 1855, Apr. 7 and 14, p. 225; *Bl. für lit. Unterh.,* 1854, p. 258; *Allgem. Ztng. Augsb.,* Beil. No. 56, Feb. 25, 1854; No. 287, Oct. 14, 1854; *Neue Preuss. Ztng.,* Beil., 1854, Apr. 20, No. 92; May 5, No. 105; Sept. 22, No. 222.

developed, which served him well in his later works. After 1849 he wrote for the *Allgemeine Zeitung* for a time, and from then on his novels appeared in quick succession until his death in 1877. In his earlier writings, Hackländer attempts little more than to entertain his readers; but in his novels his knowledge of life had deepened, and he tries to open the eyes of society blind to the atrocious evils which existed in its circles, and he censures and rebukes in description and discussion. He is the "Tendenz-Schriftsteller."

Hackländer's *Europäisches Sklavenleben* (Stuttgart, 1854) is one of his more important works, and, as its title signifies, treats of slavery, not of the negroes in America, but in every possible circle of society in Europe. Rich and poor, educated and ignorant, he says, wear the chains of a servitude from which they are powerless to free themselves; and they bewail their condition as worse than that of the negroes who are cared for by their masters, while they are the white slaves of circumstances.

The scenes of the story alternate between the lowest and the highest classes of society with vivid description, but comparatively slow action. Many characters are introduced somewhat in the Dickens manner, and the thread of the story is therefore sometimes difficult to follow. The working class and the aristocracy are the two general divisions into which the characters may be divided. The former group consists of the translator, Herr Staiger, his daughter, Clara, the ballet dancer and her friends, and the book publisher and his clerks. The aristocracy presents the Duke, Baron Brand, Graf Fohrbach and the artist, Arthur Erickson, together with others of the court. These and more appear and play a role in the intrigue and conspiracy, the object of which is to show that every life has its dark side and its tragedy. The titles of the chapters are suggestive: Vol. I. 3, *Sklavinnen;* 7, *Sklavenleben;* 33, *Sklavengeschichten;* 38, *Goldene Fesseln;* 45, *Sklavenhandel;* 63, *Sklavenloos.*

Hackländer discloses the suffering among the inmates of the "children's homes", among the struggling authors who have to resort to translating in order to win bread for their families, among the dancers in the theater—in fact, he throws light upon every side of poverty with which he was acquainted; and, on the other hand, he shows how the rich suffer through dependence upon others, and through their own dissatisfaction with life. This suffering, he says, is due either to circumstances or the mutual oppression of the classes, and is a kind of slavery just as real and horrible as that of the negroes.

The ballet dancers discuss their lot in life and consider themselves slaves:[56]

"Es ist ein Leben in vielen Fällen schlimmer als das einer wirklichen Sklavin; ist diese traurig, ist ihr Herz von Kummer und Schmerz zerrissen, so ist es doch ihrem Herrn gleichgiltig, ob sie die Lippen zusammenbeisst, ob eine Träne über ihre Wangen herabträufelt; aber die Tänzerin muss lachen, muss vor den Lampen eine Glückseligkeit heucheln, wenn auch ihr Herz darüber brechen möchte.—Es ist wahr, eine Sklavin wird wie eine Waare untersucht, ihre Gestalt, ihr Wuchs, ihre Augen, ihre Zähne werden geprüft, aber das geschieht nur einzige Male in ihrem Leben; die Tänzerin dagegen muss sich allabendlich von dem gesammten Publikum untersuchen lassen! Jedes Glas richtet sich scharf auf sie und jedes Auge prüft genau die Formen ihres Körpers, um dem Nachbar sagen zu können, 'Sie ist schöner geworden', 'Sie blüht auf', oder, 'Sie nimmt ab, es geht zu Ende mit ihr.' "

The dancers feel their life more hard and bitter than that of the black race, because they are separated from their own race by birth and circumstances. They discuss *Uncle Tom*.[57]

"Freilich habe ich es gelesen, und die Absicht der

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[56] Vol. I, ch. 2, p. 15.

[57] Vol. I, ch. 3, p. 31 ff.

Verfasserin ist gewiss lobenswert; aber lächerlich ist es, wie man bei uns dafür schwärmt, wie man sich an fremdem, vielfach eingebildetem und übertriebenem Elend wollustig erlabt, während man dicht vor der Nase dasselbe in noch viel grösserem Massstabe hat. * * * Ich kenne Leute, die nach der Sklaverei so vielen Tausend Meilen von sich ausschauen und die zu Hause darüber stolpern; die das Elend jener unglücklichen Menschen täglich und stündlich beklagen, und die in ihrem Hauswesen und für ihre Mitmenschen selbst die scheusslichsten Sklavenhändler sind."

The old translator sighs as he bends over his work, when he thinks of the oppression of the negroes, but he sighs deeper when he looks around his bare room, and hears his little motherless children asking for bread:[58]

"'Mir scheint', sagte der alte Mann an seinem Schreibtisch, indem er seine Feder einen Augenblick anhielt und durch die Brille nach dem Tisch schaute, 'Wir bekommen noch ein Nachtessen. Ei, ei! das ist, obgleich Verschwendung doch sehr wohltätig. Auch trifft das prächtig mit meiner Arbeit hier zusammen; ich übersetze nämlich gerade ein Souper in *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* und es ist sonderbar, wenn ich von Essen und Trinken schreibe, da bekomme ich einen starken Appetit. * * * Dieses Innere von *Onkel Tom's Hütte* ist als recht komfortabel geschildert und kommt Einem gar nicht so unrecht vor; es ist ein anständiges, festes Gebäude, mit einem kleinen Garten davor; auf dem Herde lodert ein Feuer und verbreitet in dem Zimmer eine behagliche Wärme * * * schon die Idee eines Kamins hat etwas höchst Behagliches * * * Tante Chloe steht am Küchenfeuer und aus ihrer Bratpfanne hervor dringt der Geruch von etwas Gutem; sie hat eben noch ein Stück Speck hineingetan, und bemerkt dass der Kuchen sich wunderschön färbt * * * Ah! es ist etwas sehr Vortreffliches um so einen Kuchen!'"

Hackländer expresses his own feeling in regard to

[58] Vol. I, ch. 6, p. 64.

slavery and especially the slavery among the readers of *Uncle Tom,* which they failed to recognize, through his characters as we have seen and will further understand in the conversation of Herr Staiger.[59] He bewails the fact that the very readers who waste tears over a book, do all that is in their power to oppress those under them. He says the book is unique and well-fitting to America, where the agitation for freedom of the slaves is active, but in the other countries, where the book excited great feeling of sympathy, the readers had not the courage to look around them and see a greater misery. He praises Mrs. Stowe's object:

"Die Verfasserin, eine Amerikanerin, Augenzeugin des von ihr geschilderten Sklavenlebens hatte gewiss die schönste und lobenswerteste Absicht", but he does not believe that she had any thought of "das Publikum mit *Onkel Tom's Hütten* zu überschwemmen, in Wort und Bild, in Gesängen und Theaterstücken."

"Da haben sie aus dem Buche ein Lied gemacht. Es behandelt den Moment, wo die Sklavin, Elise, mit ihrem Kinde über die auf- und abschwankenden Eisschollen des Ohios flieht—allerdings eine entschlossene und schöne Tat.

"Dieses Lied ist nun von irgend Einem zierlich in Musik gesetzt und wird jetzt schmachtend gesungen von Tausenden deutscher Frauen und Jungfrauen zu den Akkorden eines Klaviers oder dem Geklimper einer Guitarre, sich selbst und den Zuhörern unaussprechlichen Vergnügen; und es ist eine Heldentat, deren Vorbild man Tausende von Meilen weit herholen musste, weil nichts Ähnliches aufzuweisen ist im lieben Vaterlande * * * Ich habe eine Mutter gekannt, die hat für ihr Kind noch unendlich mehr getan, und man hat sie nicht gepriessen in Büchern und Balladen. Dieses Weib war ein armes unglückliches Weib, und obgleich sie nicht von Sklavenhändlern gejagt wurde, so jagten sie doch noch viel grimmigere Feinde, Not und Hunger. * * * Die Sklavin entging nicht ihren Ver-

[59] Vol. I, ch. 7, p. 76 ff.

folgern, sie wurde jenseits ihres mit schwimmenden Eisschollen bedeckten Ohio's nicht von freundlicher Hand aufgenommen. Die weisse Sklavin erhielt für sich und ihr Kind kein warmes Zimmer, kein gutes Bett; sie fiel der strafenden Gerechtigkeit anheim; sie ist verschwunden und verschollen; kein Buch beschreibt ihre grössere Tat, keine Ballade besingt ihr Elend und das ihres Kindes."

In such burning words does Hackländer show us his sympathy for the poor and suffering and his contempt for those who are only willing to look on them at a distance, and are to a large extent themselves the cause of the distress and poverty which surrounds them in their neighborhoods. The author says:[60]

"Alle sing Sklaven, alle haben keinen freien Willen, auch die nicht welche stolz auf uns herabblicken; und je höher sie stehen, desto herber fühlen sie ihre Sklaverei." The rich are the slaves of their money, and often of ill-health—and in the higher classes of society they are slaves of fashion and custom. There words, pleasant looks and smiling lips are only masks which hide, under gold and flowers, sick heart; "Und so hängen alle Menschen an einer gewaltigen Kette, vom Bettler bis hinauf zum Könige. Ja—alle, alle sind Sklaven!"

The book-dealer Blaffer, in conversation with his clerks complains that his best books will not sell, and adds:[61] " 'Wenn *Onkel Tom* nicht wäre, oder ein Paar gangbare Dumas'schen Romane, so sollte mich der Teufel holen, wenn ich nicht länger deutscher Buchhändler bliebe. Da haben wir vierzig anständige Bestellungen auf die Hütte. * * * Ich hätte nicht gedacht, dass der Sklavenhandel so ergiebig wäre. Es ist doch was Schönes darum, wenn man so jeden Posttag seine vierzig Schwarze behandelt.' "

He calls his clerks slaves and himself the master, and he acts the part well, although in the scene in which the

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[60] Vol. I, ch. 7, p. 83.

[61] Vol. I, ch. 12, p. 142.

artist makes arrangements to illustrate the book, while Herr Staiger is discoursing on slavery,[62] he becomes uneasy, and winces visibly when the personal side of the subject is shown. He is a fair picture of a slave dealer—indeed, as the artist sat talking, he busied himself with sketching him as such, and afterwards when the chief clerk found the paper, he waved it in the air and said:

"'Sehen Sie, da steht er, wie er leibt und lebt, der Sklavenhändler Blaffer; und auch wir sind nicht vergessen, mich hat er auf Ehre als Onkel Tom dahin conterfeit.' "[63]

The artist considers his own life as a hard one, because he is dependent upon the court for patronage, and says, *Uncle Tom* ought to be satisfied with him, since he does not return the blows which he receives. He also is a slave of circumstance.[64] His brother, Alfons, feels himself the slave of his wife's whims—while she in turn pities herself as an "elende Sklavin".[65] She is the Mrs. St. Clare of the book. The author says of Alfons: "Er sah sein Leben dahinziehen in einer Abhängigkeit, in einer Sklaverei, ärger als die, welche mit hochgeschwungener Peitsche zur angestrengsten Arbeit treibt."

The Duke sighs over the continual whirl of life at the court:[66]

"'Aber ich!—Dienst!—Dienst!—Dienst!—von Morgens Früh, wenn ich meine Augen öffne, bis Nachts wenn ich sie wieder schliesse; und auch dann noch oft keine Ruhe, denn ich träume davon. Eine wahre Sklaverei!' "

Graf Fohrbach also complains:[67]

"'Freiheit! Freiheit! * * * Ja, Sklaverei ist das rechte Wort; und wenn die Ketten auch von Gold oder Silber sind, Ketten sind und bleiben sie doch einmal!' "

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[62] Vol. I, ch. 13, p. 163 ff.
[63] Cf., also Vol. II, ch. 39, p. 34-5, Vol. III, ch. 73, p. 179-180.
[64] Cf. Vol. II, ch. 53, p. 256-7.
[65] Vol. I, ch. 14, p. 187-8.
[66] Vol. II, ch. 55, p. 281.
[67] Vol. II, ch. 56, p. 312-3.

Baron Brand confesses:[68]

"'Ich war Herr und Gebieter über Tausende von Sklaven.'"

So with bitterness and sarcasm Hackländer pictures society and censures not only its follies and weakness, but its deliberate cruelty. In nearly every chapter he mentions *Uncle Tom,* and in many places Mrs. Stowe also. The conditions of society he describes in detail. It needs a second Mrs. Stowe, he says,[69] to show to the world to what an alarming extent the blind seeking for pleasure is driven—and especially in the cities:

"Es ist das ein Kapitel, welches in keiner Sklavengeschichte fehlen darf, und das auch in *Onkel Tom's Hütte* vorkommen würde."[70]

The negroes know no difference among themselves, he adds, yet are perfectly conscious of the line between them and the white race, though they do not desire to cross this boundary. In European society the lines of division are drawn by birth and circumstances, false lines which ought not to exist.

An amusing incident concerning Mrs. Stowe is found in the first volume.[71] Several of the theater attendants are talking with an old man who describes a pretended journey to America, during which he had seen Mrs. Stowe. He says she lived in a house next to a "Wirtshaus zum weissen Ross", and that he was received in a friendly manner by her when he called. He describes his entertainment at dinner, at which the dishes, etc., were of amber, a piece of which he convincingly shows as the end of his pipe. Being asked if Mrs. Stowe was the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* he answers, "She feeds her hens and geese, and darns her children's stockings, but never thinks of writing a book." To his question, who was the author? he reports the answer:

[68] Vol. III, ch. 64, p. 15.
[69] Vol. I, ch. 28, p. 370.
[70] Vol. I, ch. 28, p. 377.
[71] Vol. I, p. 240 ff.

" 'Ich hab' es nicht geschrieben. Ich kenne aber den Verfasser; es ist von einem pietistischen Pfarrer in Rhein-Preussen!' "

The purpose of this scene, aside from that of amusement to the reader, is to show the foolishness and falseness of reports about America, and the gullibility of old travelers, who may or may not have been in the New World. Also here is seen, as is true of the whole book, the sarcasm with which Hackländer treated the people who showed enthusiasm and sympathy for America in her struggle with slavery, when there was a similar condition with them at home. This irony was not directed in particular against Mrs. Stowe or her book, but against the general movement of "Schwärmerei für das Fremde".

Hackländer expresses the purpose of his work as follows:[72]

"Der geneigte Leser, den wir nun einmal in die Geheimnisse eingeführt, kann auch von uns verlangen, dass wir ihm ferner mitteilen. * * * Wir tun dies um so lieber, als wir ihm dadurch der Tendenz unserer wahrhaftigen Geschichten gemäss beweisen, dass kein Mensch auf dieser Welt der Sklaverei entgeht und im Stande ist, beständig seinen Willen durchzusetzen, nicht die Bettler, nicht die Höchsten dieser Erde."

The influence of Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* upon this novel may be characterized as inspiration and imitation of purpose. The subject of slavery had been brought before the public in a concrete and stirring form in *Uncle Tom,* and that only about one year before, and the enthusiasm for the book not only astonished Hackländer, but led him to write his own feelings on the subject. He did not attempt to imitate the characters, unless it may be said that the wife of Alfons represents Mrs. St. Clare, and the old translator, Uncle Tom; but these characters are types just as those in *Uncle Tom.* He did not, it is true, offer a means

[72] Vol. II, ch. 38, p. 26.

to alleviate the suffering which he describes, but neither did Mrs. Stowe, and in this the two works are alike. Both books are a description and representation of social conditions—both plead for their betterment.

The book was popular, for the public now demanded "Sklavengeschichten", and because *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was at the height of its popularity. The fact that Hackländer had already made a name for himself as a writer was also a factor which made the circle of readers larger.

It is plain that Hackländer wished to satisfy the public taste, and at the same time express his opinions of slavery in general, and had *Uncle Tom's Cabin* not been written, we can safely say that *Europäisches Sklavenleben* would also not have come into existence.

In America the book was adapted for the theater by *Germaner* and was presented April 4, 1865, at the Stadttheater, and July 20, 21, and August 2, 1877, in the Turner Halle in Philadelphia.[73]

The influence of *Uncle Tom* upon Hackländer's work was at once detected by the readers and critics, as will be seen by a glance at the reviews. In nearly all notices of *Europäisches Sklavenleben, Uncle Tom* is mentioned, and a comparison drawn. In *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung,*[74] the review is entitled, "ein deutsches Seitenstück zu *Onkel Tom*". Here the reviewer shows that Hackländer was dependent upon Mrs. Stowe for inspiration and that he tried to fulfill the wish expressed by reviewers of her book for a German *Uncle Tom*—a description of European slavery.

The critic says: "Wer sucht bei uns Sklaverei und Sklavenhalter, Sklavensignalement und Sklavenhetze, die Sklavenpeitsche und das Sklavenbrandmal? Doch hat Hackländer die Entdeckung gemacht, dass es mitten unter uns, in unsern so wohl organisirten und beaufsichtigten

[73] Lewis, *The German Stage in Philadelphia,* in Ms., cf. Prof. M. D. Learned, University of Pennsylvania.

[74] *Bl. f. lit. Unth.,* 1854, p. 258.

Staaten, Scharen von Sklaven gibt, welche genau besehen noch unglücklicher daran sind als die schwarzen Sklaven in Amerika, etc.''

The reviewers consider the book somewhat overdrawn, yet written by one who has a literary reputation, it could not fail to find readers.

2. *Auerbach.*[75]

Another novelist who came into the circle of Mrs. Stowe's influence is Berthold Auerbach (1812-1882), known and loved through his *Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten,* which aroused a new interest in the life of the common people. Most of his novels have a well-defined political, democratic or social purpose, and this is so in the one which interests us here in connection with Mrs. Stowe, *Das Landhaus am Rhein* (3 Bde. Stuttg. 1869).

The Civil War had been over in America for about four years, and Germany was watching the work of reconstruction of the Union, and how America was trying to solve the problem of what to do with the freedman. It is not to be wondered, therefore, that Auerbach, a strong champion of freedom, as seen even in his early *Dorfgeschichten,* should be affected by the struggle in the New World, and should discuss the slavery question.

The two problems which he tries to solve in this novel are the education of a millionaire's son and daughter, and whether the father, who had been a slave-trader and slave-murderer, should be raised to the nobility. Growing out of the latter are the effect upon the children of the knowledge of their father's past life, and the attitude of society in Germany toward him as a representative of the slave-party in America.

The characters of the novel fall into three groups—the Americans, those of higher society, and the philosophical.

[75] Auerbach: *Allgem. deu. Biogr.* I; Julian Schmidt, *Charakterbilder aus der zeitgenöss. Literatur,* Lpz., 1875, p. 37-49; Rudolf Gottschall, *D. deu. Nat. Lit. des* 19. *Jhts.,* Bd. 4. 3 Aufl., Breslau, 1872, p. 340-352; *Briefe an seinen Freund, Jakob Auerbach,* hg. v. Spielhagen, Frankfurt, 1884, 2 Bde.

In the centre of the first group stands Herr Sonnenkamp, a German by birth, who had been engaged in the slave-trade in America. He returned to his fatherland after becoming very wealthy, and built a beautiful mansion, Villa Eden, on the banks of the Rhine. He then seeks admission to a higher rank in society through the influence of gold. He is portrayed as a proud, ambitious and arbitrary man, whose one good quality is love for his children, who, coming to Germany as a stranger, is respected and feared by people in general because of his wealth and generosity, but is somewhat avoided by the circle which he wishes to enter, because of the mystery which surrounds him. His wife, Frau Ceres, is a weak, childish woman, the daughter of the steward on a slave-ship, which her husband had formerly owned, and her only important part in the story is, that in a fit of anger she tells her daughter, Manna, something of the past history of her husband, and so embitters the girl's life that she goes to a convent, intending to become a nun.

The boy, Roland, does not inherit his father's coarseness and egotism, but has a fine, sympathetic nature. His education rests with his tutor, Erich Dournay, who is the centre of the philosophical group. Erich's mother, the wife of a professor, and represented as an ideal woman, before whom all bow, and her son, who is an indefatigable student and teacher, act as "balance-wheels" in the household at Villa Eden.

The nobility group has for its head Graf Klodwig, who is also philosophical and learned in the classics. It is through his means and those of his wife, Gräfin Bella, that Sonnenkamp endeavors to enter the higher circle. Through this desire the past life and true character of the millionaire is revealed. He wears an iron ring on his right thumb to hide a scar caused by the bite of a slave whom he threw overboard when his ship was pursued, and this scar serves as a part of the evidence against him, for at the critical moment, when he is about to be made Baron, this negro re-

appears in the service of a Prince, recognizes his former master and is with difficulty restrained from killing him. This scene, of course, removes all possibility of the fulfillment of Sonnenkamp's desire, and here is seen the attitude of the people toward slavery. Sonnenkamp is ostracized, avoided by his best friends, servants and even by his own children, and at last is mobbed by the people of his neighborhood, until he sees that only one course is left, to flee from his home.

One morning he and Gräfin Bella, the only person who seems to be influenced by him, and who in turn exercises a strong power over him, are not to be found. They go to America and take part in the Civil War on the Confederate side and thus meet their death. The children, Manna and Roland, feeling the stain of their father's past upon them, and willing to give up their lives to remove the curse which he had brought upon them all, also go to America with Erich Dournay. The love of the latter for Manna keeps him faithful to them when he recoiled from their father, and he proves himself a true guide and helper. Roland and Erich enlist in a negro regiment, and live to return to Villa Eden.

The influence of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* upon this novel is seen in the characters and in the discussion of the slave question.

Sonnenkamp resembles the slave-dealers Haley and Legree and the thin veneer of refinement and courtesy which partially veils the innate coarseness and savagery of his nature only makes his egotism and cruelty the more hateful and repulsive to the reader. He firmly believes in slavery as an institution, as did the slave-owners of the South, since it had brought him his wealth; and no argument can shake his conviction that the black man is anything more than an animal and to be treated as such. He may be said to be an example of the "new-rich" type, gaining money by fraud, extortion and ill-use of his fellowmen and exulting in his gains. He is called by von Pranken, the brother of the

Gräfin Bella—"Massa Sonnenkamp".[76] Again, when Roland begs to be released from his father's embrace, he remembers how Dr. Fritz, a German who had known him in America, had said,[77] "O you, who root out the love of parents and children among your fellowmen, how can you hope to be loved by your own children?" The words now cut him to the quick, and at this moment the parrot calls out, "God bless you, Massa!" like the voice of a spirit and sends a shudder over him, just as he tries to forget the black pages of his life.

On every side he is questioned in regard to slavery, because he is known to have been in America.[78] Whether the negroes have souls is discussed, and what the race may become in the future, and always Sonnenkamp takes the view of the Southerner. Graf Klodwig expresses the opinion,[79] "ich glaube, dass Amerika zur Vollendung einer grossen Tat berufen ist: zur Tilgung der Sklaverei von der Erde". And in the discussion after the reading of *Othello* Sonnenkamp grows more and more excited, and finally surprises all by an outburst:[80]

"Gib' Deine Tochter einem Neger, tu' das! tu' das! Fürchte jede Stunde dass er Dein Kind zerfleische! Tu' das! edler Menschenfreund! Dann komme wieder und sprich von Gleichheit der weissen und der schwarzen Racen!"

The character of Roland is shown in his words to his father:[81]

"Vater! Ich habe eine freie Seele! Ich bin Dein Sohn, aber meine Seele ist frei!"

The boy was born in America and has a faint recollection of being carried in the arms of a slave, and a song

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[76] Vol. I, bk. I, p. 16.
[77] Vol. I, bk. IV, p. 216 and 224; Vol. I, bk. II, p. 91.
[78] Vol. II, bk. VI, p. 29.
[79] Vol. II, bk. VI, p. 33.
[80] Vol. II, bk. XIII, p. 129 ff.
[81] Vol. II, bk. XIII, p. 136.

which he had heard the negroes sing haunts his memory.[82] He reads the books of the day, including works of Theodore Parker and the life of Benjamin Franklin, which prepared his mind for the reading of *Uncle Tom,* which did not occur until after he had learned the story of his father's past, and the latter had fled from home.[83]

"Roland las jetzt zum ersten Male *Onkel Tom's Hütte;* er weinte Tränen darüber, aber bald richtete er sich auf und fragte: Was ist das? Den Gepeitschten und Misshandelten an Vergeltung im Jenseits weisen, wo der Herr des Sklaven gezüchtigt und der misshandelte Sklave erhöht wird? Wer gibt die erlittene Qual zurück? Wer entschädigt ihn für die Gefangenschaft, die er erleiden musste, um dann als unschuldig erkannt zu werden?"

Manna is of the same deep religious nature as Eva. She is represented as older, however, a girl of the same simple, gentle manners, who suffers intensely from the knowledge that her father is not the ideal which she had believed him to be, and because she herself is thought to be a quadroon by her schoolmates, who avoid her companionship. She determines not to use her father's money until he declares that the children's share was gained through honest means.

The feeling of the people, touching slavery and the cause of the South, is seen throughout the book from the sentiments expressed directly and indirectly, especially when the dramatic story of Sonnenkamp's life is printed in the newspapers and read by all his friends and neighbors. The scene in which Villa Eden is attacked by the mob is a striking illustration:[84]

"Es wurde Nacht; da tönte ein Geheul, ein Gejohte, ein Pfeifen, Rasseln und Klirren, wie wenn die Hölle losgelassen wäre. Sonnenkamp richtete sich auf. Bei Fackelschein sah er wunderliche Gestalten mit schwarzen Gesichten.

[82] Vol. II, bk. 2, p. 122.
[83] Vol. III, bk. XIV, p. 247.
[84] Vol. III, bk. XII, p. 135 ff.

Was ist das? Ist das Einbildung? Kommen sie heran, die Geschöpfe mit Menschengestalt aus der fernen Welt?

'Hinaus, aus dem Land' muss er!' rief es von unten.

'Zu seinen Schwarzen soll er!'

'Wir wollen ihn holen und schwarz anstreichen!'

* * * * * * * * * *

'Wo ist er?'

'Gebt ihn heraus, oder wir zerschlagen alles!'

Sonnenkamp eilte auf den offenen Balcon; da hörte er die Stimme Erichs, der mit gewaltigem Rufe die Menge ermahnte.

'Ist Einer unter Euch, der sagen kann, was Ihr wollt, der trete vor.'

Ein Mann mit geschwärztem Antlitz, den Erich nicht sofort erkannte, trat vor.

'Was wollen die Menschen?'

'Sie wollen, dass Herr Sonnenkamp, oder wie er heisst, unsere Gegend verlasse und wieder dahin gehe, von wo er gekommen ist.'

'Hinaus soll er!'

'Und meine Wiese soll er mir wiedergeben!'

'Und mir meinen Weinberg!'

'Und mir mein Haus!'

So rief es da und dort aus dem Haufen.

'Ihr Männer, was habe ich Euch denn getan?' rief Sonnenkamp.

'Menschenfresser!'

'Menschenverkäufer!'

'Menschenhändler!' schrie es aus der Versammlung.

'Hinaus sollst Du!'

'Hinaus! Hinaus!' ''

Here we have a picture of the rage of the people against the slave-trader, and in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* we read of the anger of the slave-owners and traders against the fugitive slaves and all who helped them in any way to escape. The flight and pursuit of Eliza and George might be compared to this scene.

It is evident that Auerbach had read and appreciated the book of Mrs. Stowe in the height of its popularity, for he mentions the book. How far he was influenced in the *Landhaus am Rhein* is difficult to state definitely, for he mentions other contemporary writers on the subject of slavery. For his portrayal of the character of Sonnenkamp he is undoubtedly indebted to Mrs. Stowe. A slave-trader transplanted to Germany, a Haley or Legree in high society, could scarcely have been so well described without the help of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* The character of Manna suggests that of Eva; that of Frau Ceres, Mrs. St. Clare, the idle, the useless, whimsical woman. But aside from the characters, the opinons expressed in regard to slavery in the discussions which arise are identical in sentiment. Both arguments for the North and for the South are introduced, and we believe that in this Auerbach was influenced to some extent by Mrs. Stowe.

From the novel we can plainly recognize the attitude of Auerbach's mind in regard to the political conditions in America, and what his course of reading has been, and his sympathies must have been greatly aroused to lead him to express himself so strongly on the slave question. *Das Landhaus am Rhein* served as a medium through which he expressed his views in character, dialogue and reflection.

3. *Minor Writers.*

The public mind during the period of the popularity of *Uncle Tom* demanded stories of America and particularly of slave life. The book dealers and writers saw that their other books would sell slowly as long as this demand lasted, and the result was a great number both of translations of English imitations and or original German stories, which were written by authors little known under the inspiration of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

Among these minor writers there are two very distinct imitators which deserve special attention. They are "Sir

John Rettcliffe''—not the original, but an imitator whose real name was Bernhard Hesslein,[85] (Hamburg, 1818-1882, Friedrichshagen bei Berlin), journalist and writer of short stories, and Ludwig Gothe,[85] (Potsdam, 1835-1881, Moabit bei Berlin), who through the help of Fanny Lewald became a writer of sketches for the newspapers and later of novels.

(a) *''Rettcliffe''*, or *Hesslein.*

Two novels, *''Abraham Lincoln''* and *''Jefferson Davis''*,[86] by Hesslein, were influenced by Mrs. Stowe. In the former the influence is not as marked as in the latter, except that the name ''Eva'' is used for one of the characters. The second may be justly called an imitation. It is divided into three parts: 1, ''Der Teufel von Five Points''; 2, ''Der Negerbaron''; 3, ''Das weisse Haus''; and presents a continuation of the life of *Uncle Tom.* The author attempts to show the social and political conditions in the United States shortly before the outbreak of the Civil War. The portrayal of the life is as the author conceives it from his reading of contemporary books—not from observation. He quotes Cooper's *North America* and Kapp's *History of Slavery,* but it is Mrs. Stowe whom he follows in delineation of character and expression of sentiment.

The scene is first laid in New York, then in the West and lastly in the Capitol. In the first part, life in New York, particularly in that part known as the ''Five Points'', is described in detail; together with the work of the abolitionists in their cause, and the risks and dangers which they experienced in consequence of efforts to aid fugitive slaves. The principal negro character is that of Uncle Tob, or Mr. Tobias Jonathan, as he humbly requests to be called, pointing to his certificate of freedom. He is a co-worker of the abolitionists and a strong friend of the slaves, and in his

[85] Fr. Brümmer, *Lex. deu. Dichter u. Prosaisten d.* 19. *Jhts.,* 2 Bde., Lpz., Reclam, 1896.

[86] *J. D. social-polit. Roman a. d. amerik. Bürgerkrieg,* v. Bernhard Hesslein, Lpz., 1866-7.

rôle of preacher he finds more than one way to aid them. He lives in a house which has underground passages and rooms, in which he hides his friends, or imprisons the enemies to the cause of freedom. He is a Christian, but does not hesitate to shoot down his foe when it is necessary to save his own life or that of a friend. He quotes the Bible frequently, and in ordinary circumstances is quiet and thoughtful like Uncle Tom, but when occasion for action comes he shows Uncle Tom's strength and coolness.

Uncle Tob's wife is Dinah, not the proud and self-sufficient Dinah of the St. Clare kitchen, but a broken-hearted mulatto woman, who continually grieves for her little Eva, who was torn from her and sold into slavery.

Bob, Uncle Tob's youngest child, is still held in slavery. He is the Topsy of the story, and is called a monkey by his master, and he seems one generally, but behind the mischief and deviltry is an extreme hatred of the white oppressors, and a feeling of revenge for the sufferings of his race, which he cold-bloodedly puts into action whenever he has an opportunity. His pranks continually amuse and his mocking laugh follows the reader, but, though he is a much more intelligent character than Topsy, he is a very improbable one.

Eliza is here called Ella. She is a mulatto girl who has been stolen from her home by a slave-dealer, and rescued by Uncle Tob and Bob after the latter killed the son of her master in her protection. For this crime she is accused. The slave-trader and her master are drugged and imprisoned by Uncle Tob, and when the house is searched, she is hidden in a secret underground room, and later rescued by her father, a white Abolitionist. This search by the police is a counterpart of the attack upon the fugitives in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. In both situations the leader of the attacking party is killed, and the fugitives barely escape. In character Ella is represented like Eliza, resolute in face of danger, although somewhat younger.

Bianka, the wife of an abolitionist, reminds us of Mrs. St. Clare. She is impressionable, high-spirited, or fretful and despondent according to mood; and in the wild grief over the loss of her child, Alice, she is particularly like Mrs. Stowe's character. Her husband is not as lighthearted as Mr. St. Clare, but a man of the type of Mr. Shelby, and he is put in the same trying circumstances as Mr. Shelby through the lack of money.

In the second and third parts we have new characters added and the scene changes to Kansas. Here we see the influence of Mrs. Stowe in the sad story of Cassy. She is here, as in *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* the daughter of a slave-owner. She flees from home on account of ill-treatment, but is captured and on the death of her master, is sold. She is again cruelly treated, is imprisoned, but at last escapes. A third time she is recaptured after a long search and is sold to a lenient mistress, who sets her free. This character is a faithful copy of Mrs. Stowe's Cassy.

The name Chloe is also used, but not in an important rôle. She is the cook in the Western cabin.

The slave auction is twice described in the exact manner of Mrs. Stowe. The sentiment is the same. Reflections on the conditions of North and South are frequently introduced, and the whole "tendenz" of the book is that of Mrs. Stowe, although it lacks truth to nature, which can be accounted for by the fact that the author wrote from what he had read and from his own imagination.

Uncle Tob is Uncle Tom freed and transplanted to New York; Bob is Topsy; Ella is Eliza; and many other comparisons might be drawn. The book was published, confessing its dependence upon Mrs. Stowe. We find on the reverse side of the title page this note:

"Die Verfasserin von *Onkel Tom* gestand, dass ihr berühmtes Werk nur eine *unvollständige* Schilderung der Sklaverei enthalte, und zwar deshalb, weil diese in vielen ihrer Wirkungen mit *solchen Schrecknissen verbunden* sei,

dass ihre Enthüllungen sich für die Zwecke der Kunst nicht eignen.—Der Verfasser dieses Werkes aber glaubt *jede Rücksicht,* welche das entsetzliche Institut nicht in seiner *ganzen* Schändlichkeit erscheinen lässt, bei Seite legen, ohne deshalb, wie er hofft, das ästhetische Gefühl seiner Leser beleidigen zu müssen."

Added at the end of the last volume we find a review reprinted from the *Magdeburger Presse,* which tries to show that the story is more true to life than that of Mrs. Stowe. The reviewer can also judge only from a limited knowledge, hence the opinion. The critic concludes:

"Zu Frau Stowe's Buch steht das vorliegende in dem Verhältniss, wie die vollendete Handlung zu den Zweifeln und Kämpfen, aus denen sie hervorgegangen. Jenes Werk wirft seinen Schatten gewissermassen vor sich her, es steht vor dem Abschluss der welthistorischen Katastrophe und schliesst daher mit einem schrillen Missklang.

"Unserm Verfasser haben inzwischen die Ereignisse vorgearbeitet, und wir zweifeln nicht, dass sein Roman einen Abschluss erhalten wird, der den Leser durch den Hinweis auf den Umschwung der Gegenwart und die Aussichten der Zukunft mit der Vergangenheit aussöhnen wird."

(b) *Gothe.*

"*Am Red River* oder *Sklavenleben in Nord-Amerika,*[87] and *Die Maron-Neger,*[88] by L. Gothe."

In these four volumes we are told the history and experiences of a German family who lived in New Orleans, but on the disappearance and reputed death of the father, were sold into slavery as quadroons. The life and suffering of each is told in detail and the evils and injustice of slavery are dwelt upon in description and discussion at every opportunity. In order to lead the story to a happy conclusion

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[87] *Am Red River, etc., Erzählung aus der Gegenwart nach authent. Mitteilungen;* bearb. v. L. Gothe; 2 thle. Berl. Lindow, 1862-3.

[88] *Die Maron-Neger, oder Sklavenempörung am Red River,* v. L. Gothe; 2 thle., Berl. Lindow, 1864.

the author introduces the father again upon the scene and reunites the family in freedom.

The names of the characters are the same as in *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* Eva is here the daughter of the slave-trader, and is described as the exact opposite of the gentle creature which Mrs. Stowe depicts. She is a child of about the same age, but hard-hearted, exacting, and a severe mistress to her slaves. She aids her father in his business by examining and locking the chains upon the slaves, and he depends upon her judgment in buying and selling. Eliza is in some respects similar to the Eliza of Mrs. Stowe's book. She is a quiet girl of considerable refinement, who suffers much as a slave, but she is not placed in situations which require great decisions and courage. She does not play as important a rôle as does Harriet de Belleville. The author evidently chose the Christian name of Mrs. Stowe for one of his characters with purpose. He knew that her name was widely known and that her life was also familiar to all parts of the reading world. A slave-mistress of the South so named would be all the more striking in a novel, because of the contrast with Mrs. Stowe. This is the author's purpose. He shows us Harriet de Belleville, instead of the quiet, gentle, earnest Harriet Beecher-Stowe, an unnaturally cruel and revengeful woman—utterly without principle, who makes the lives of her slaves the hardest possible, with severe and continual punishment. Her cruelty is known for miles around, and to be bought by her is considered the greatest misfortune that could come to a slave.

The name Eliza is spelled in the English manner, as are Harriet and Eva. These names were known to every reader through *Uncle Tom,* and we may safely conclude that they were taken from the book with the purpose of making the story more attractive and popular.

The character of Arthur, the eldest of the separated family, is somewhat similar to that of Uncle Tom. He is misused, and suffers silently and uncomplainingly, because

he loves his mistress. Tom is whipped to death, earthly freedom coming too late; Arthur nearly dies of fever and imprisonment, but is rescued and made free by his conscience-stricken mistress. He is one of the principal characters of the sequel, around whom his mistress, Isabella de Zarates, his sisters and brothers are grouped.

The slave-trader, compared to Haley and Legree, shows some differences. He is not openly as cruel and hateful toward his slaves, for he wishes to be known, for trade's sake, as a very humane and religious man, but in reality his treatment is little better than that of Legree, except that he understands perfectly well that excessive cruelty diminishes the selling value of "feine Waare".

The death of little Eva seems to have impressed itself upon the author, for in the last chapter he portrays the death of Maria in a similar manner. One cannot read this scene without seeing clearly the influence of Mrs. Stowe, but the picture is by no means as skillfully drawn.

The religious element enters into the story to much the same extent as in *Uncle Tom,* but in a somewhat different manner. One of the principal slave-owners is Isabella de Zarates, a young Creole. She falls in love with Arthur, her slave; and since she dare not marry him, she seeks the advice of an old priest, who tells her to reunite the whole family in gratitude to Arthur, for having saved her life in an insurrection of the "Maron-Neger", and so win peace for her troubled conscience. Mr. Shelby's mind is not at rest when he sells Tom, and Mr. St. Clare is uneasy regarding the future of his slaves. The element of a dissatisfied conscience thus enters into both books.

Each of the members of the enslaved family have the religious sentiment deepened through their experiences, and in the last scene they all unite in the hymn "Nun danket alle Gott!"

False religion is shown in the slave-trader who treats his slaves like animals, "common and fine wares", yet sends

rich presents to the church to ensure future happiness. In other contemporary novels of this character the religious element is not so strong as here; and since this is one of the distinctive features of *Uncle Tom*, we may conclude that the author consciously incorporated it into his story.

Hand in hand with the religious goes the anti-slavery element, which is shown in the expressions of the slaves and in the general atmosphere of the book. The slaves frequently exclaim, "O diese Tyrannei!" "Ach, die Sklaverei!" and descriptions of the sufferings of the slaves show the anti-slavery spirit. The Southern attitude toward Abolition is also clearly defined. America is spoken of as "das freie Amerika" in irony, and the slaveship flies the Stars and Stripes, "the symbol of freedom over chained slaves".

The motive of separation of family plays an important part and some of the scenes are equally as pitiful as in *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* but always overdrawn.

In the negro dialect the author has imitated Mrs. Stowe very well. If translated into English the expressions of the slaves might easily be put into the mouths of the negroes in *Uncle Tom.*

We may conclude, therefore, that the novel was written under the inspiration and influence of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* by a writer who hoped to share in the popularity of novels of slave-life, which had been caused by the many translations of Mrs. Stowe's book; and that he is dependent upon it for some of the characters, for the religious and anti-slavery elements, and for the general description of slave-life.[89]

(c) *Other Minor Writers.*

(1) *Eine Nichte Uncle Tom's, nach J. Romer's Denkwürdigkeiten erzählt von Dr. Majo* (Stuttg., 1854). Although the story has no connection with *Uncle Tom's Cabin,*

[89] Cf. Review in *Bl. f. lit. Unterh.*, 1863, No. 23, p. 422, June 4.

yet the name is used for its title. In *Grenzboten*[90] we find a notice of the book:

"Warum der Verfasser auf dem Titel eigentlich an den *Uncle Tom* erinnert ist uns nicht deutlich. Dass eine Negerin die zweite Rolle darin spielt, ist doch wohl kein hinreichender Grund."

(2) "*Sklavenleben in Amerika, oder wunderbare Lebensschicksale eines auf britischem Gebiet entkommenen ehemaligen Negersklaven, namens John Brown, nach dessen eigenen Worten deutsch wiedererzählt, sowie mit einer Einleitung über den dermaligen Stand der Sklavenfrage versehen von Dr. Chr. Fr. Grieb* (Stuttg., 1855)."

This is a strong anti-slavery book. The character of John Brown is treated in somewhat the same manner as Uncle Tom. He is a quiet, inoffensive negro of religious nature, who is sold and ill-treated by several masters and eventually attains freedom. The great excitement which followed in the wake of *Uncle Tom* accounts for this book. The author wished to show conditions in the United States in all their barbarity, and as he believed Mrs. Stowe had to some extent refrained from doing. The fact of her influence here is proved from the words of the author:

"Frau Stowe hat der Welt die Gräuel der Sklaverei einigermassen enthüllt; ganz aber ist durch sie der Schleier nicht gelüftet worden. Ich meine es muss ihr viel mehr bekannt sein, als sie gesagt hat. Was mich betrifft, so weiss ich mehr, als ich zu sagen wage."[91]

(3) *Mark Sutherland, oder die Wege der Vorsehung. Original-Roman von Aug. Schrader* (Leipzig, 1856).[92]

In the introduction to this narrative Schrader tells us:

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[90] 1855, III, p. 173; cf. also *Bl. f. lit. Unterh.*, 1854, p. 259. Story pub. in *Mannh. Unterh. Bl.*, 1855, No. 155, July 5, to No. 182, Aug. 2, and reviewed in same 1854, No. 20, Jan. 25.

[91] P. 63.

[92] Aug. Schrader, formerly Simmel (Wegeleben bei Halberstadt, 1815-1878, Leipzig), translator and tutor of modern languages.

"Die Verfasserin von *Onkel Tom's Hütte* versprach ein Buch unter dem Titel *Mark Sutherland* zu liefern, nach dem ihr erstes Werk fast beispiellosen Erfolg gehabt hat. Man harrte jedoch vergebens auf die Erfüllung dieses Versprechens. Ermutigt durch die freundliche Aufnahme meines Werkes, *Die Braut von Louisiana,* fasste ich den Entschluss, das von der Amerikanerin angeregte Thema zu bearbeiten, und der *Braut von Louisiana* einen Nachfolger zu geben. Es war von Anfang nicht meine Absicht einen Sklavenroman zu schreiben, wie er eine Zeitlang zur Mode geworden, und wie er in mannigfaltigen Nachahmungen von *Onkel Tom's Hütte* erschienen ist, sondern ich wollte ein Werk liefern, das die deutschen Leser mit den Sitten und Gebräuchen der Nationen jenseits des Meeres bekannt macht. Ich erlaube mir daher zu bemerken, dass mein Werk nur eine rein unterhaltende von jeder Tendenz ferne Lectüre liefern soll. Mein Roman ist also kein Pendant zu *Onkel Tom's Hütte,* sondern ein Seitenstück zu der *Braut von Louisiana.*"

It is granted that the book is not a direct imitation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* but was doubtless influenced by it in the character of "Joe", who resembles Uncle Tom. A reviewer also mentions this fact:[93]

"Die schändliche, unmenschliche Behandlung des Sklaven 'Joe' erinnert uns, wenigstens an einiges was wir in *Onkel Tom's Hütte* gelesen, und obwohl es uns unbegreiflich ist wie Mrs. H. B. Stowe mit diesem Werke solch einen Erfolg erzielen konnte, so lassen wir doch der Amerikanerin gern die Gerechtigkeit widerfahren, dass sie sich nur auf Schilderungen einliess, die eine genaue Kenntniss ihres Vaterlandes beweisen, was man jedoch von Schrader nicht sagen kann; er kennt Amerika blos aus Büchern."

(4) *Aus Amerika, von Julius Fröbel* (Leipzig, 1856). Julius Fröbel (1805-?) was a brother of the well-known pedagogue, Friedrich Fröbel. He went to America in 1849,

[93] *Bl. f. lit. Unterh.*, 1857, No. 27, July 1, Emanuel Rauff.

and was engaged in business in New York, San Francisco and other cities until 1857, thus experiencing the excitement over the Fugitive Slave Law and the following discussions of slavery, which he reflects in his book. His attitude is the same as that of Mrs. Stowe.

(5) *Der Amerika-Müde. Amerikanisches Kulturbild von Ferdinand Kürnberger* (Frankfurt am Main, 1856).* This is a book of sketches of American life, in which the subject of slavery is much discussed. Abolitionists are mentioned by name and are described, and the Quakers are mentioned as people who aided fugitive slaves. A drama is described in which slave-traders, abolitionists and slaves figure. One of the principal characters in this play is named Mrs. *Drake Harriet Store,* which was probably chosen to suggest Mrs. *Stowe;* and it may be that the play referred to was the dramatization of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* as the plot consists of the attempted capture and escape of a mulatto woman. Later in the book a dance is described in which Uncle Tom figures as one of the musicians. Another character, the negro Scipio, resembles closely St. Clare's valet.

These facts show that Kürnberger knew *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* and made use of the characters, names, and to some extent, the plot. It is a book of one who had not been in America, but as many others drew for his information upon the sources at hand in the much-read books describing American life.

(6) *Pilgerfahrt nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika. Enthaltend Skizzen über die dortigen socialen und politischen Zustände während der Jahre* 1849-1856 *von C. B. A. Warnefried.* (Köln, 1857.)

Here another writer attempts to describe America and its social life, and gleaned his knowledge from books—among which *Uncle Tom* appears to be freely used.

*Cf., G. A. Mulfinger, Ferd. Kürnberger's Roman, *Der Amerikamüde* (*German American Annals,* Vol I).

(7) *Briefe aus und über die Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika an Freunde in der Heimat in geographischer, statistischer, landwirtschaftlicher, industrieller, commercieller, politischer und socialer Beziehung, von Karl Schmidt* (Altenburg, 1857).

The author of these letters appears to have been a native of Leipzig, who spent two years (1854-1856) in America in order to write a book. He says that he visited five States of the Union, but two of the five only by riding through them by train—and yet he writes a book on America with the above imposing title!

He speaks of his acquaintance with Mrs. Stowe and of his friends Charles Sumner and Theodore Parker. There is no doubt that this writer wished to write something "popular", and the book is, strictly speaking, a collection of the opinions of the day gathered from books and newspapers rather than from personal observation and experience. The sentiments in regard to slavery are those expressed by the anti-slavery leaders, and since he avows an acquaintance with Mrs. Stowe, we may be sure that he was influenced by her.

(8) *Lebende Bilder aus Amerika,* etc. (Tullingen, 1858), and *Freiheit und Sklaverei unter dem Sternenbanner, oder Land und Leute in Amerika* (Stuttg., 1862).

Both of these books are by Karl Theodor Griesinger, who went to America in 1852 because politics became unpleasant for him at home, and five years later returned to Stuttgart and began to write stories derived from his experiences. He is an ardent sympathizer with the North, and, therefore, could not escape the wide-spreading influence of *Uncle Tom.*

(9) *Sklaverei und Freiheit von Ottilie Ossing* (Hamburg, 1860). This is the work of a German woman in New York, who tried to write a second *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* She had read the *North Star,* a paper of which the former slave, Frederick Douglas, was editor, and conceived the idea of

writing the story of his life to help the anti-slavery cause, as *Uncle Tom* had done. The treatment of the slavery question and the religious attitude is the same, and the sufferings of Douglas are described in a very similar manner. The purpose is the same which inspired Mrs. Stowe, and the story may be called a direct imitation. In *Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd,* Fr. Biedermann says in his criticism: "Die einfache, schmucklose Darstellung dieses wirklichen Sklavenlebens gibt ein nicht minder ergreifendes, durch jeden Wegfall romantischen Aufputzes, indess noch viel schärferes Bild des amerikanischen Sklaventums als dessen bisherige Schilderungen in Beecher-Stowe's *Onkel Tom's Hütte.*"[94]

(10) *Sklaverei in Amerika, oder schwarzes Blut, von Armand* (1862).[95] Strubberg or "Armand" had travelled in America, especially in the South, and had ample opportunity and ability to write a novel of this kind without help. In this and in his other stories of American life, it may be that he is independent of Mrs. Stowe; but as he borrowed from Cooper we may reasonably suppose that he borrowed also from Mrs. Stowe.

(11) *Die Hamburger in Amerika. Romantisch-politisches Gemälde aus der Gegenwart und jüngsten Vergangenheit von Moritz Reichenbach* (Hamburg, 1864).

Moritz Reichenbach (1804-1870) was an actor and writer of popular literature in Hamburg. He shows us here a series of critical situations and narrow escapes, of which one of the most striking is that in which a young mulatto woman, fleeing with her lover, is pursued by slave-hunters and swims across a river. This is a weird scene and is so similar in general outline and in detail as to remind the reader at once of Eliza crossing the Ohio. The author had never been in America, and we recognize the fact in the

[94] 1859, No. 60, p. 771-774.

[95] 3 Bde., 1. Quadrone, 2. Mulattin, 3. Negerin.

descriptions of slave-life. The book is essentially that of a sympathizer with the anti-slavery movement as well as of a writer of popular stories, and its dependence upon *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is clear, although the book is not mentioned.

(12) *Weiss und Schwarz. Historische Erzählung aus der ersten Zeit des Sonderbundkrieges in Nordamerika, von Friedr. Wilhelm Arming* (Leipzig, 2 Bde., 1865). This is the only example of a book written in favor of the South. It is an imitation of those written in opposition to *Uncle Tom*—such as *Aunt Phillis' Cabin, Tit for Tat,* etc.

(13) *Amerikanische Lebensbilder, oder Erlebnisse deutscher Auswanderer in Amerika, geschildert von Luise Weil* (Stuttg., 1865).

The first story in this collection is entitled the *Deutscher Sklavenhalter.* Haller, a Southern slaveholder sells his slave-daughter, Nelly, and separates her from her lover, Harry. She flees with Dinah, an old slave, and is sheltered by Onkel Levi and Tante Katy, Quakers—a situation the same as that of Eliza. The old Quaker publishes the story in a newspaper, but says that the girl sought death in the Red River rather than be a slave, and thus Harry is able to trace her. The outline of the story and the situations are entirely dependent upon *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* and the names Harry, Dinah and Nelly are used for George, Chloe and Eliza.

(14) *Der Sklavenhändler. Original-Roman aus den Papieren eines Touristen, von Ludwig Heinrich* (Breslau, 1867).

Slave trade in South America is described in the neighborhood of Rio Janeiro. The condition of the negroes is graphically pictured, and the slave-dealer is a man of more repulsive nature than either of the traders in *Uncle Tom.*

A definite influence can hardly be pointed out, but the general wave of interest in slavery, caused by Mrs. Stowe's book, no doubt was the inspiration of the novel.

(15) *Die Königin der Flusspiraten, historisch-romantische Original-Novelle von Wilhelm Schröter* (Leipzig, 2 Bde., 18—?).

The beautiful young daughter of a farmer on the banks of the Red River is captured by pirates on the Mississippi and kept a prisoner. Her name is Eva, a fact which at once suggests dependence upon Mrs. Stowe. The author describes her as similar in character. One of the pirates is named "Tom", and he is a man who is not entirely in sympathy with his companions, for he aids the rescue party as much as he dares, and acts as a protector to Eva, when the other pirates threaten her harm.

There are many books which appeared in the years 1853 to 1870, which stood under the general wide-spread influence of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* and were called forth by the new interest in America; but the above examples suffice to show that the sudden popularity of the slavery question led many an obscure and unknown writer to venture on the subject, and even those who had no ability and who knew nothing about America, except what they had read, tried to share in the great speculation from which many, especially the booksellers, benefited pecuniarily.

4. *Juvenile Literature.*

The editions for children of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* were spoken of with little enthusiasm by some of the critics. The *Preussische Zeitung,* Berlin,[96] does not find the book "ein passender Stoff für jugendliche Gemüter", but it was nevertheless as popular with the young as it was with the old, as the number of abridgements shows.[97] The people who read the book in their youth remember it well and formed their idea of life in the Southern States from the descriptions; and besides this the book exerted so great an influence, in

[96] 1852, No. 287, Dec. 10.

[97] Cf., also *Preuss. Ztng.,* 1853, No. 116, May 22. *Deu. Mus.,* 1853, II, No. 47, p. 772.

some cases, as to lead the readers to go to America. Of this fact we have been assured by Germans in America, as well as by their relatives in the home country.

The abridgement by *Max Schasler* is spoken of as follows:[98]

"Die Einführung einer Erzählung in der Person der 'Tante Marie', welche ihren Nichten, 'Kätchen' und 'Aenchen', so wie ihrem Neffen, 'Georg', die Geschichte *Onkel Tom's* vorliest, wäre gewiss eine glückliche, wenn die englische Original-Ausgabe diesen Personen einen grösseren Spielraum gegeben hätte. Sie treten aber nur einmal, am Anfange auf, und verschwinden dann gänzlich. Der deutsche Bearbeiter lässt aber daher in zweckmässiger Art diese Personen bei jeder wichtigen Epoche der Erzählung wieder auftreten und ihre Ansichten über den Inhalt des Gelesenen in einer Weise mit einander austauschen, dass dadurch für die Enwickelung der Intelligenz und der Sittlichkeit der jugendlichen Leser ein positives Resultat erzielt werde. Auch hat er Vieles, was über den Gesichtskreis der Jugend zu weit hinausging, entweder in verständlichere Form gebracht oder ganz unterdrückt, wie besonders die oft wiederkehrenden Gespräche über Sklaverei mit Rücksicht auf ihre politischen und anderweitigen Folgen; Fragen die für ein Kind, besonders aber für ein Kind Deutschlands mindestens inhaltsleer und langweilig sein müssen. * * * Es ist auch eine sehr glückliche Wendung am Schlusse, dass der deutsche Bearbeiter den guten, ehrlichen Tom am Ende für seinen christlichen Mut und seine Beharrlichkeit gerettet werden lässt. Die Bearbeitung ist ersichtlich mit grosser Sorgfalt, der man die Übersetzung nirgends ausfühlt, und mit anerkennenswerter Reinheit und Kraft der Sprache durchgeführt."

We have seen that *Uncle Tom* was imitated by the writers of the day, and by those who would gladly be counted among that number, and it is a very natural conclusion to

[98] *Preuss. Ztng.*, 1853, No. 116, May 22.

reach, that also in the juvenile literature there were imitations. We have only to name a few of these to prove this:

Der schwarze Sam, oder Menschenraub in Amerika, von Jul. Hoffmann. Eine Erzählung für die Jugend (Breslau, 1854-1855); *Der Sklave, von C. Hildebrand, für die Jugend* (Leipzig, 1853); *Donawe, oder Schicksale eines Negersklaven, für die Jugend, von Phil. Körber* (Nürnberg, 1856); *Loango, von Fr. Hoffmann* (Stuttg., 1853); und *Ein Kongo Neger, eine Geschichte aus Sanct. Domingo, für die Jugend, von W. D. Horn* (*Fr. W. Örtel,* Wiesbaden, 1854).

These are only examples of the many stories for children which appeared from 1852 to 1860, and under the influence of this new kind of novel the story of slave-life.

VII. Conclusion.

The influence of anti-slavery, represented by *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* which showed itself strongly in the popular literature of the day, did not pass over the people at large without leaving impressions more or less deep behind. There is no doubt that there existed in Europe as in America those who were almost fanatical enthusiasts over anti-slavery, but the general impression of the more or less educated was that the condition of affairs in the United States was deeply to be deplored, and all efforts at betterment should be aided, but that the moral applied to the situation in the homeland also. This is the tone of the editorials.

Heine complained twenty years before the appearance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*: "O, Freiheit! Du bist ein böser Traum!" The desire to reveal society in its true light inspired Hackländer.

The opinions of readers are valuable. George Sand published under her own supervision the authorized French version of the book. She was an enthusiast, and her entire circle of friends could not escape the influence of her inter-

est and enthusiasm when it was aroused. She says of Mrs. Stowe:[99]

"Mrs. Stowe is all instinct; it is the very reason that she appears to some not to have talent. Has she not talent? What is talent? Nothing, doubtless compared to genius; but has she genius? I cannot say that she has talent, as one understands it in the world of letters; but she has genius, as humanity feels the need of genius—the genius of goodness, not that of the man of letters, but of the saint.—Pure, penetrating and profound, the spirit which thus fathoms the recesses of the human soul. Noble, generous and great the heart which embraces in her pity, in her love, an entire race, trodden down in the blood and mire under the whip of ruffians and maledictions of the impious. Thus should it be, thus should we value things ourselves. We feel that genius is heart, that power is faith, that talent is sincerity, and finally that success is sympathy, since this book overcomes us, since it penetrates the breast, pervades the spirit, and fills us with a strange sentiment of mingled tenderness and admiration for a poor negro lacerated by blows, prostrate in the dust, there gasping on a miserable pallet his last sigh exhaled toward God."

The poet Heine admired the genius of George Sand and counted her among his friends, and it is probable that this authorized French version was the *Uncle Tom* which he read. From his own words it is clear that his feelings on reading the story were sympathy with the anti-slavery cause, admiration for the author, who had had the courage to attack the great evil which was continually gnawing at the roots of society in America, and recognition of the black man as a human being and a spiritual brother. He says in his *Geständnisse.*[100]

"Nachdem ich mein ganzes Leben hindurch mich auf allen Tanzböden der Philosophie herumgetrieben, allen Or-

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[99] *Old South Leaflets,* No. 82, p. 18.

[100] *Heinrich Heine, Sammtliche Werke;* hg. v. E. Elster; Bd. 6, p. 54, 56, Bibl. Inst.

gien des Geistes mich hingegeben, mit allen möglichen Systemen gebuhlt, ohne befriedigt worden zu sein, wie Messaline nach einer liederlichen Nacht, jetzt befinde ich mich plötzlich auf demselben Standpunkt, worauf auch der *Onkel Tom* steht; auf dem der Bibel, und ich kniee neben dem schwarzen Bruder nieder in derselben Andacht.

"Welche Demütigung! mit all' meiner Wissenschaft habe ich es nicht weiter gebracht, als der arme unwissende Neger, der kaum buchstabieren gelernt! *Der arme Tom* scheint freilich in dem heiligen Buche noch tiefere Dingen zu sehen, als ich dem besonders die letzte Partie noch nicht ganz klar geworden.

"*Tom* versteht sie vielleicht besser, weil mehr Prügel darin vorkommen, nämlich jene unaufhörlichen Peitschenhiebe, die mich manchmal bei der Lectüre der Evangelien und der Apostelgeschichte sehr unästhetisch anwiderten— so ein armer Negersklave liest zugleich mit dem Rücken, und begreift daher viel besser als wir. * * * Man sieht, ich, der ich ehemals den Homer zu citieren pflegte, ich citiere jetzt die Bibel, wie der *Onkel Tom.*"

Emigration to America was influenced not only by the thought of the day, but also by the current literature, both original and translations. The disappointment of '48 led many to seek in the New World the ideal of liberty, which they had failed to realize at home, and the agitation for freedom continued by the anti-slavery literature, occasioned many a crossing the sea to fight for the cause either in public life or on the battlefield. The names of Carl Schurz and Franz Sigel among many others will always be recorded in the history of America as eminent men, who helped to shape the future of the country. Otto von Corvin, a leader in the Revolution of '48, was in America during the Civil War and corresponded during that period for the *Allgemeine Zeitung,* thus keeping his friends and countrymen in close touch with the struggle which had won their sympathy.

Had *Uncle Tom's Cabin* not been written, this sympathy would have remained passive and slow; but as we

have seen, wherever the book was read, it awakened an active interest, and as we have been assured by many whose relatives and friends went to the United States in the critical period before the war, the excitement which followed the reading of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was one of the factors which worked in their decision to make the journey.

The influence of Mrs. Stowe's book in Germany, as traced through its various forms, arriving opportunely, was a force which could not be restrained. It was a force which showed itself in the vast number of translations and editions which overwhelmed the book market, and which were not restricted merely to the period of popularity of the book, but have continued to appear down to the present year. In this surprising number of translations are found the names of well-known authors, and editions published for all prices and all kinds of readers.

This is also the case in other languages. In English the editions are almost numberless. In twenty-one different languages *Uncle Tom* has appeared, and there is every indication that this number will increase in years to come, for the sake of the interest in the book itself, although the work for which it was designed has long been accomplished.

We have seen the influence of the book expressed in the public indignation and pity at the horrors which it describes, in notice, criticism and review. Some are incredulous that such barbarity really existed, some deplore the "Schwärmerei für das Fremde", but the great majority express sympathy for the New World in its struggle with the great problem, and admiration for Mrs. Stowe, who lifted the veil from the situation at the critical moment.

Hackländer's book may be called the German *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* in that his purpose was that of Mrs. Stowe, and he acknowledges his indebtedness to her. Auerbach was influenced in portrayal of character, and in his attitude toward slavery, which he expresses in discussion and situation. The almost countless minor imitations show how deep this interest in America aroused by Mrs. Stowe

had reached. The public wished details, further knowledge, and these the many minor writers attempted to offer, generally merely working over the material at hand instead of presenting new. By many of these writers *Uncle Tom* is recognized as their inspiration, but by others it is consciously denied in order to escape the accusation. Then, too, the wide-spread presentation of the story in dramatic form shows the intensity of the influence. The fact that it was presented in Munich thirty times, played twice daily, gives a picture of the enthusiasm for the play.

In time "Uncle Tom" was used as a name for anything which the merchant wished to make popular, and even now there is a restaurant in the suburbs of Berlin which bears the name! There were pictures and poems, ballads and dances, by the name and illustrating the book, and satirists called the enthusiasm "Onkel Tommerei"; but this all serves to show how deep was the wave of excitement which came over the Atlantic. The opinions of readers, a glance at the tide of immigration shows this also, and it is safe to assert that in Germany no other American novel has been as widely read by all classes of people, and has had so great an influence as *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

VIII. Appendix.

1. List of Reviews and Notices consulted.

(a) Reviews and Notices of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

Allgemeine Zeitung, Augsburg.

Beilage 1852, No. 281, October 7. Long review.

Beilage 1852, No. 282, October 8. Long review.

Beilage 1852, No. 303, October 29. *White Slave* compared to *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

Beilage 1852, No. 320, November 15. Biography of Mrs. Stowe.

Beilage 1852, No. 321, November 16. Biography of Mrs. Stowe.

Beilage 1852, No. 331, November 26. Publisher's notice.

Ausserordentliche Beilage 1852, No. 351, December 16. Review of Du Bois trans.

Beilage 1852, No. 495, December 25. Pub. adv.

Beilage 1853, No. 95 April 5. Theater.

Beilage 1853, No. 186, July 5. Mrs. Stowe in Europe.

Beilage 1853, No. 233, August 21. Notice.

Beilage 1853, No. 250, September 7. Journey.

Beilage 1853, No. 260, September 17. Mentions Mrs. Stowe.

Beilage 1854, No. 51, February 20. Notice.

Das Ausland. Ein Tageblatt für Kunde des geistigen und sittlichen Lebens der Völker.

1852, II, No. 237, October 2, p. 948. Notice.

1853, I, No. 21, May 27, p. 485. Long review.

1853, I, No. 21, May 27, p. 489. Notice.

1854, I, No. 8, February 24, p. 180. Notice and discuss. slavery.

1854, I, No. 26, June 30, p. 622. Notice.

1854, II, No. 29, July 4, p. 695. Notice.

1854, II, No. 34, August 25, p. 803. Notice.
1855, II, No. 33, August 17, p. 773. Notice and discuss. slavery.

Badische Landeszeitung.
1852, No. 307, December 30. Notice.
1853, No. 6, January 8. Notice.
1853, No. 16, January 20. Notice.
1853, No. 31, February 6. Notice.
1853, No. 47, February 25. Verses.
1853, No. 69, March 23. Notice, journey.
1853, No. 83, April 10. Notice, journey.
1853, No. 99, April 29. Notice, journey.
1853, No. 119, May 25. Mrs. St. personal appear.
1853, No. 170, July 24. Notice, journey.
1853, No. 187, August 13. Theater.
1853, No. 240, October 16. Notice, journey.
1854, No. 66, March 18. Notice.
1854, No. 251, October 27. Notice.

Blätter für Literarische Unterhaltung.
1852, II, No. 52, December 25, p. 1239. Notice.
1853, I, No. 2, January 8, p. 35-6. Long review.
1853, I, No. 24, June 11. Notice.
1854, I, No. 6, February 2, p. 113. Notice.
1857, I, No. 27, July 1. Mention.
1869, II, No. 39, September 22, p. 622. Mention.

Beilage Blätter zum Heidelberger Journal.
1852, No. 139, November 14. Notice.
1853, No. 4, January 9. Theater notice.
1853, No. 9, January 21. Notice and mention.
1853, No. 40, April 3.
1853, No. 65, June 5. Mrs. Stowe personal appear.
1853, No. 125, October 23. Adv.

Beilage zum Mainzer Journal.
1852, No. 293, December 10. Notice.

Das Pfennig Magazin.

1852, p. 492. Review.

1852, p. 400. Notice and critcism.

Deutsches Museum. Zeitschrift für Lit. Kunst, u. öffentl. Leben, hg. v. Robt. Pruss, Lpz.

1853, I, No. 5, p. 189. Notice and Criticism.

1853, I, No. 35, p. 330. Mrs. St. personal appear.

1853, II, No. 47, p. 772. Review of ed. for children.

Europa. Chronik der gebildeten Welt, hg. v. F. Gustav Kühne.

1852, No. 92, November 11. Notice.

1852, No. 96, November 25. Notice.

1852, No. 101, December 16. Notice.

1852, No. 103. Pub. notice.

1853, No. 2, January 7. Long notice.

1853, No. 5, p. 32. Theater.

1853, No. 11, February 3, p. 88. Theater.

1853, No. 14, February 10, p. 112. Theater.

1853, No. 20, p. 160. Notice.

1853, No. 54, p. 431. Notice.

1853, No. 57, p. 448. Notice.

1854, No. 19, March 2. Notice.

Frankfurter Intelligenzblatt, Frankfurt a/M.

1852, 2 Beil., No. 237, October 6. Adv.

1852, 4 Beil., No. 261, November 3. Long notice.

1852, 3 Beil., No. 269, November 12. Notice.

1852, 5 Beil., No. 283, November 28. Biography Mrs. Stowe.

1852, 3 Beil., No. 297, December 15. Adv.

1852, No. 302, December 21. Adv.

1852, No. 303, December 22. Adv. and notice.

1852, 3 Beil., No. 308, December 29. Theater.

1853, 4 Beil., No. 7, January 7. Theater.

1853, No. 8, January 11. Editorial mention.

1853, 2 Beil., No. 11, January 14. Notice.

1853, 1 Beil., No. 20, January 25. Adv.
1853, 4 Beil., No. 21, January 26. Notice, theater.
1853, 3 Beil., No. 35, February 11.
1853, 4 Beil., No. 41, February 18. Theater adv.
1853, No. 42, February 19. Theater adv.
1853, 3 Beil., No. 127, June 1. Notice.

Frankfurter Konversationsblatt. Belletristische Beilage zur Postzeitung.
1852, No. 272, November 13, p. 1088. Review.
1853, No. 42, February 17. Theater adv.
1853, No. 43, February 19. Theater adv.
1853, No. 44, February 21. Theater adv.

Freiburger Zeitung.
1852, No. 281, November 26, p. 1096. Notice.
1853, No. 3, January 4. Notice.
1853, No. 43, February 19, p. 171-2. Notice.
1853, No. 44, February 20, p. 174. Notice.
1853, No. 50, February 27, p. 197. Notice.
1853, No. 52, March 2, p. 205-6. Review, biography.
1853, No. 53, March 3. Notice.
1853, No. 56, March 6. Notice.
1853, No. 59, March 10. Notice.
1853, No. 60, March 11. Notice.
1853, No. 115, May 15, p. 476. Notice.

Gartenlaube.
1853, No. 3, p. 32. Short review.
1853, No. 14, p. 154. Mention.
1853, No. 229, p. 319. Notice.

Grenzboten.
1852, IV, p. 479. Theater notice.
1852, IV, p. 189-190. Review.
1852, IV, p. 317. Review.
1855, I, p. 411. Notice.

Illustrirte Zeitung, Leipzig.

1852, No. 483, October 2. Adv.
1852, No. 484, October 9. Notice and adv.
1852, No. 486. Notice.
1852, No. 488, November 27. Notice.
1852, No. 491. Poem and adv.
1852, No. 492, December 4. Adv.
1852, No. 495, December 25. Notice.
1853, No. 497, January 8. Notice.
1853, No. 499, January 15. Theater and notice.
1853, No. 500. Adv., illustr.
1853, No. 506. Notice.
1853, No. 509, April 2. Adv.
1853, No. 510, April 9. Adv.
1853, No. 511-520, April 16, June 18. Illustr. adv.
1853, No. 519, June 11. Notice.
1853, No. 528, August 13. Notice, journey.
1853, No. 532, September 10. Music and Notice.
1853, No. 547, December 24. Adv.

Konstanzer Zeitung.

1852, Beil., No. 307. December 24. Adv.
1853, Beil., No. 147, June 26. Notice in discussion.

Literaturblatt. Menzel, Stuttg.

1853, No. 2, January 5, p. 5, ff. Review.

Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes. Berl. J. Lehmann.

1852, No. 138, November 16, p. 549-60. Biography and review.

1852, No. 139, November 18, p. 554-5. Biography and review.

1852, No. 144, November 30, p. 576. Notice.
1853, No. 4, January 8. Notice ed. for children.
1853, No. 56, May 10. Theater.
1853, No. 68, June 7. Notice.
1853, No. 70, June 11. Notice.
1853, No. 75, June 23. Mrs. St. personal appear.

1853, No. 87, July 21. Notice.
1853, No. 121. Mentions *U. T. C.*
1853, No. 135. Mentions *U. T. C.*

Mainzer Journal.
1852, No. 283-286. Theater adv.
1852, No. 300. Theater adv.
1853, No. 6, 7. Theater adv.
1853, No. 21, 22. Pub. adv.
1853, No. 42, 43. Theater adv.
1853, No. 112. Notice, journey.

Mannheimer Unterhaltungsblatt. Belletristische Beilage zum Mannheimer Journal, hg. v. Dr. E. H. Th. Hahn.
1852, No. 246-303, October 15-December 21. Notice and *U. T. C.*
1852, No. 254, October 25. Notice.
1852, No. 263, November 4. Notice.
1853, No. 13, January 15. Biography.
1853, No. 121, May 23. Note.
1855, No. 295, December 12. Notice.
1855, No. 299, December 17. Notice.

Minerva. Ein Journal für Geschichte, Politik, u. Literatur v. Dr. Fr. Brau. Jena.
1852, IV, p. 267-321. Long review.

Morgenblatt für gebildete Leser.
1853, No. 8, February 20, p. 137. Notice.
1853, No. 19, May 8, p. 449-451. Long review and theater notice.

Neue Preussische Zeitung. Berlin.
1852, No. 279, December 1. Review.
1852, No. 287, December 10. Notice.
1852, No. 283-286, December 5-13. Theater adv.
1852, No. 300-304, December 25-31. Theater adv.
1853, No. 1-7, January 1-9. Theater adv.
1853, No. 5, January 7. Theater adv. and criticism.

1853, No. 10, January 13. Notice, journey.
1853, No. 11-12, January 14-15. Theater adv.
1853, No. 21, January 26. Adv.
1853, No. 24, January 29. Adv. and notice.
1853, No. 31, February 6. Theater adv.
1853, No. 35, February 11. Notice.
1853, No. 98, April 29. Adv.
1853, No. 99, April 30. Adv.
1853, No. 104, May 5. Notice.
1853, No. 110, May 14. Notice, journey.
1853, No. 116, May 22. Review ed. children.
1853, No. 121, May 28. Mrs. Stowe pers. app.
1854, No. 105, May 5. Notice.

Rheinische Blätter für Unterhaltung und gemeinnütziges Leben. Ein Beiblatt zum Mainzer Journal.
1852, No. 290, December 7, p. 1159. Notice.
1853, No. 54, March 5, p. 216. Theater advs.
1853, No. 55, March 6, p. 220. Theater advs.

Saga. Süddeutsche Wochenschrift für Ernst u. Scherz auf dem Gebiete der Politik, der Literatur u. des öffentlichen Lebens v. K. Schöchlin. Karlsruhe.
1853, No. 5, July 31, p. 37. Notice, journey.
1853, No. 9, August 26, p. 69. Notice.
1853, No. 11, September 11, p. 85. Theater.
1853, No. 12, September 18, p. 93. Notice, journey.

Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd, hg. v. Karl Gutzkow.
1853, I, No. 7. Long review.
1853, I, No. 13, p. 208. Notice and criticism.
1853, I, No. 23. Notice and criticism.
1854, I, No. 46, p. 735. Notice and criticism.
1864, II, No. 19, p. 375-6. Criticism.

Wochenblatt für die grossherzoglichen Bezirke Baden und Bühl.
1852, No. 130, October 28, p. 863. Pub. adv.
1853, No. 5, January 11. Pub. adv.

(b) Reviews of the *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

Badische Landeszeitung.
1853, No. 76, April 2.
1853, No. 110, May 13, p. 453.

Beilage Blätter zum Heidelberger Journal.
1853, No. 40, April 3.

Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes. Berl. J. Lehmann.
1853, No. 43, April 9, p. 171-2.

Mainzer Journal.
1853, No. 88, April 13. Adv.

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1853, No. 109, May 9, p. 435.

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(b) *Mrs. H. B. Stowe and Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

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(a) *Translations.*

1. 1853—*Die Maiblume.* Bilder u. Charaktere, 16° (XVIII, 336^{s}). Berlin, Duncker u. Humblot.

2. 1853—*Maiblümchen,* oder Am. Skizzen u. Erzählungen aus d. Engl. 8° (III, 178ˢ). Leipzig, Kittler.
3. 1855—*Das Maiblümchen,* oder Skizzen u. Scenen von Charakteren unter den Nachkommen der Pilger v. H. B. Stowe (geb. Beecher), mit einer Vorrede v. Catherine Beecher. Stereotyp ausg. 1. und 2. Aufl. m. d. Portrait der Verfasserin, Bd. 7, *neue Volksbibl.* hg. v. Aug. Schrader. 8° (IX, 139ˢ). Leipzig, Friedlein.
4. 1853 (?)—*Dred.* Eine Erzähl. aus d. grossen Schreckenssümpfe, v. H. B. Stowe. Ins Deu. übertragen, v. *A. Kretschmar;* 7 Bde. (180; 183; 202; 196; 183; 200; 192ˢ); Bde. 992-998. *Europ. Bibl. d. neuen belletr. Lit. Deutschl. u. Frankreichs,* u. s. w. Wurzen, Verlagscomptoir.
5. 1856—*Dred.* Eine Erzähl. aus dem grossen Dismalsümpfe. Bd. 10. *Neue Volksbibl.* 1859 also? 8° (X, 358ˢ). Leipzig, Friedlein.
6. 1856—*Dred.* Eine Erzähl. aus d. grossen Wüstenmoore, aus d. Engl. übers. v. *Marie Heine.* 3 Bde., 1856-1857. Leipzig, Kollmann.
7. 1856—*Dred.* Eine Erzähl. aus amerik. Sümpfen, v. H. B. Stowe. 2 Bde. (328, 326ˢ), gr. 12. *Die Romanzeitung, Bibl. der vorzüglichen Romane des In- u. Auslandes;* hg. v. Aug. Zang; 2 Jahrg. Wien, Ludwig u. Zang.
8. 1856, 1858(?)—*Dred.* Eine Erzähl. aus d. grossen Dismalsumpfe. 2 Bde. (in 1 Bd.), gr. 8° (V, 583ˢ). Boston, Philadelphia, U. S. A., Schäfer u. Koradi.
9. 1859(?)—*Des Predigers Brautwerbung,* v. H. B. Stowe, deu. v. b. *Kretschmar.* 4 Bde., *Europ. Bibl. der neuen belletr. Lit.,* XI. Serie, 1087-1090 (1851-1856). Wurzln, Verlags-Comptoir.
10. 1901—*Des Predigers Brautwerbung,* aus d. Engl. neu bearb. Ausg. 8°, 479ˢ. Leipzig, F. Jansa.
11. 1867—*Blätter über Haus u. Heim,* aus d. Engl. 8°, 184ˢ. Brandenburg, Wieseke.

12. 1870—*Die Leute von Oldtown.* Roman aus d. Engl. übers. v. *J. N. Heynrichs* (Jenny Hirsch). Autorausg. 4 Bde., 8° (255; 249; 233; 227ˢ). Berlin, Janke.
13. 1869—*Kleine Füchse,* oder die kleinen Fehler, welche das häusl. Glück stören; aus d. Engl. 16°, 143ˢ.
    1873—224ˢ, 16°, m. Goldschn.
    1874—182ˢ, 8°, m. 4 Bildern u. Lichtdr.
    1878—224ˢ, 4 Aufl. Cart. m. Goldschn.
    1887—182ˢ, 8°, m. 4 Lichtdr. Taf.
    1908—192ˢ, kl. 8°, 11 Aufl., Kart. m. Goldschn.
    Gütersloh, Bertelsmann.
14. 1870—*Hermine Frank.* Familien Silhouetten, frei Übertr. u. Bearb. d. *Little Foxes,* by Mrs. H. B. Stowe; gr. 16°, 232ˢ. Frankfurt a/M.
15. 1871—*Das Pathchen der Palmweide,* aus dem Amerik. 16° (160ˢ, m. 1 Holzschn. Taf.) Gütersloh, Bertelsmann.
16. 1876—*Wir u. unsere Nachbarn,* u. s. w., deu. v. *Emil Lehmann;* 2 Bde. (311; 309ˢ). *Neue belletr. Lese-Cabinet der besten u. interessant. Romane aller Nationen No.* 1599-1614. Wien, Hartleben.
17. 1895-6—*Wir u. unsere Nachbarn,* u. s. w., v. H. B. Stowe. 3 Bde. (160; 159; 176ˢ). *Coll. Hartleben Ausw. d. hervorrag. Romane aller Nationen.* Wien, Hartleben.
18. 1881—*Morgen kommt E. R.,* v. Mrs. H. Beecher-Stowe, aus d. Engl. 8°, 12ˢ. Barmen, Wiemann.
19. 1892—*Chas. E. Stowe,* H. B. Stowe, Briefe u. Tagebücher, hg. v. C. E. Stowe; deu. v. *Margarethe Jacobi;* gr. 8° (VIII, 311ˢ, m. Bildnis). Gotha, F. A. Perthes.

Editions in English.

1. 1856—*Dred,* a tale of the great Dismal Swamp. 2 Vols., No. 372, 373.
2. 1859—*The Minister's Wooing,* No. 494.
3. 1869—*Oldtown Folks,* 2 Vols., No. 1019, 1020 (710ˢ). *Collection Brit. Authors.* Leipzig, Tauchnitz.

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4. 1853—*Tales* from H. B. Stowe. Vol. 8, 9. *Little Eng. Library,* etc., with questions by *James McLean.* Leipzig, Baumgartner.

(b) *Reviews.*

1. *Die Maiblume.* Allgem. Zeitung, 1853, Beil. No. 63; Mar. 4, p. 1107.
   Freiburger Zeitung, 1853, No. 43; Feb. 19, p. 170. Notice.
   Freiburger Zeitung, 1853, No. 66; Mar. 18 to Apr. 3, No. 80; *Die Maiblume.*
   Neue Preuss. Zeitung, 1853, No. 35; Feb. 12.
   Unterh. am häusl. Herd, 1853, No. 28.
2. *Dred.* Grenzboten, 1856, IV, p. 197. Blätter für lit. Unterh., 1858, I, No. 5, p. 91-2; Jan. 8.
3. *Sonnige Erinnerungen aus fremden Landen.* Allgem. Zeitung, Beil., 1854, No. 271; Sept. 28.
4. *Des Predigers Brautwerbung.* Blätter für lit. Unterh., 1860, I, No. 1; Jan. 1, p. 19-22.
5. *Byron Controversy.* Blätter für lit. Unterh. 1869, II, p. 622, No. 39.

Lebenslauf.

Am 5. Juni, 1882, bin ich, Grace Edith MacLean, evangelischer Konfession zu Vineland, New Jersey, Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, als Tochter des verstorbenen Pastors Calvin Barber MacLean und seiner Gemahlin, Caroline Frances geb. Dayton, geboren. Nach Vorbereitung in den öffentlichen Schulen in Palmyra, New Jersey, und in Stamford, Connecticut, besuchte ich die Stamford "High School" von September, 1897, bis Juni, 1898, und die "Bacon Academy" in Colchester, Connecticut, von September, 1898, bis Juni, 1900, von der ich dann graduirte. Von September, 1900, bis Juni, 1903, besuchte ich das "Temple College", jetzt "Temple University", in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, wo ich im Juni, 1903, den Baccalaureus in Artibus erlangte.

Von September, 1903, bis Juni, 1906, führte ich meine Studien in der "University of Pennsylvania" in Philadelphia, fort, wo ich im Juni, 1905, den Magister in Artibus erlangte.

Im August, 1906, reiste ich nach Europa und studierte von Herbst 1906 bis Herbst 1909 in Heidelberg und widmete mich unter der Anleitung der Herren:

Professor Dr. Hoops,
Geh. Hofrat Dr. Neumann,
Professor Dr. Freiherr v. Waldberg,

anglistischen, romanistischen und germanistischen Studien. Ferner nahm ich teil an den Vorlesungen und Übungen von

Geh. Hofrat Dr. Braune,
Professor Dr. Ehrismann,
Professor Dr. Petsch,
Professor Dr. Schneegans,
Dr. Jordan.

Das Examen rigorosum bestand ich am 26. Juli, 1909.

Allen meinen verehrten Lehrern, besonders Herrn Professor Dr. Hoops der Universität Heidelberg, und Herrn Professor Dr. M. D. Learned der Universität Pennsylvania, U. S. A., sage ich meinen herzlichsten Dank für freundlichen Rat und für alle Anregung die ich in so reichem Masse empfangen habe.

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